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THIS VOLUME OF THE LANGUAGE HANDBOOK SERIES IS INTENDED TO SERVE AS AN OUTLINE OF THE SALIENT FEATURES OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY OVER 80 MILLION PEOPLE IN EAST PAKISTAN AND INDIA. IT WAS WRITTEN WITH SEVERAL READERS IN MIND--(1) A LINGUIST INTERESTED IN BENGALI BUT NOT HIMSELF A SPECIALIST IN THE LANGUAGE, (2) AN INTERMEDIATE OR ADVANCED STUDENT WHO WANTS A CONCISE GENERAL PICTURE OF THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SETTING, AND (3) AN AREA SPECIALIST WHO NEEDS BASIC LINGUISTIC OR SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTS ABOUT THE AREA. CHAPTERS ON THE LANGUAGE SITUATION, PHONOLOGY, AND ORTHOGRAPHY PRECEDE THE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX. ALTHOUGH THE LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION IS NOT INTENDED TO BE DEFINITIVE, IT USES TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY AND ASSUMES THE READER HAS PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF LINGUISTICS. STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BENGALI AND AMERICAN ENGLISH ARE DISCUSSED AS ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SADHU STANDARD AND CHALIT STANDARD BENGALI. THE DACCA DIALECT AND THE CHITTAGONG DIALECT ARE BRIEFLY TREATED AND THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION IS SHOWN ON A MAP OF BENGALI DIALECTS. FINAL CHAPTERS SURVEY THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND LITERARY CRITICISM. THIS HANDBOOK IS ALSO AVAILABLE FOR $3.00 FROM THE CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, 1717 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C., 20036. (JD)

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BENGALI LANGUAGE HANDBOOK

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OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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LANGUAGE HANDBOOK SERIES

FRANK A. RICE, GENERAL EDITOR

BENGALI LANGUAGE HANDBOOK

PUNYA SLOKA RAY

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LILA RAY

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

Each volume in the Language Handbook Series is intended to provide an outline of the salient features of a particular language and a summary of the language situation and language problems of the country or area in which it is spoken. The scope of the series is the major modern languages of Asia and Africa.

It is hoped that the handbooks will prove useful to several different kinds of readers. One is the linguistic specialist who is not himself a specialist in the particular language treated, e.g. an Arabist who is interested in Bengali. Another is the student who is past the beginning stages of his study and who wishes to have a concise and condensed general picture of the language and its setting. A third reader is the area specialist, e.g. a sociologist, who wishes to know basic linguistic or sociolinguistic facts about the area. The handbooks are not designed to serve as instructional materials for the language in question, nor are they intended as a guide to local customs or cultural differences or the like.

There has been some attempt to hold the handbooks to a suggested general framework so as to give the series some uniformity, but in practice the individual studies vary considerably, both because of the differences of approach of the individual authors and the range and variety of problems of the individual languages. In general, each author in his own way treats the following matters: the language in its social and historical setting, its linguistic structure, its writing system (as appropriate), its points of contrast with English, and its literature. The description of the linguistic structure has provided the greatest problem in presentation. The authors have made a serious effort to avoid excessive use of technical linguistic terminology but nevertheless a certain amount of linguistic sophistication on the part of the reader must be assumed. Given the status of modern linguistics as a discipline

INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

it has not seemed wise to attempt to write in a popularized style.

The language handbooks represent a new kind of venture in the field of applied linguistics. It is probable that some portions or aspects of the various studies will be found inadequate or of little value, but the authors and the editor are confident that the series as a whole represents a useful step in the application of linguistic knowledge to practical language problems.

Frank A. Rice
Director, Office of Information and Publications
Center for Applied Linguistics

PREFACE

THIS IS a brief reference work on the current state of the Bengali language and literature. Punya Sloka Ray is responsible for chapters 1-11, 13, and with Muhammad Abdul Hai, for part of chapter 12. Lila Ray is responsible for chapters 14-17. Each has depended primarily on his own research. We offer our regrets that the brevity of presentation has precluded any detailed justification for the analytic decisions, gratitude to all predecessors in research, and thanks to all those who have helped the exposition, above all to Frank A. Rice, the general editor of the series. And we dedicate the book to an eminent lover of Bengali, Abu Sayeed Ayyub.

October 1964

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

PUNYA SLOKA RAY was assistant professor of linguistics at the University of Chicago at the time of writing this book, and is new a senior fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study. He has numerous publications in Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman linguistics, as well as in the sociology and the philosophy of language. He has a book Language Standardization: Studies in Prescriptive Linguistics (The Hague, 1963).

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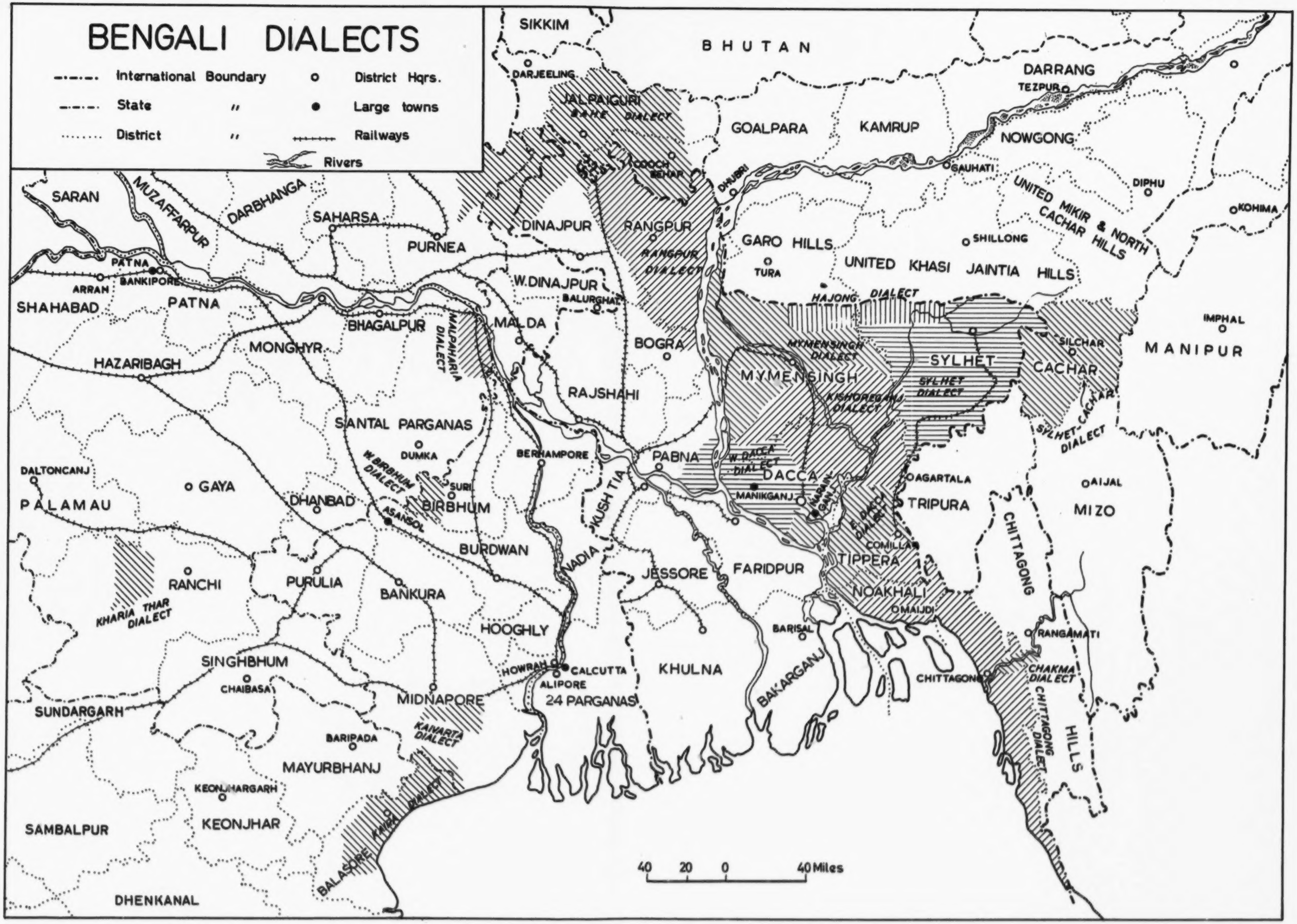

BENGALI DIALECTS

International Boundary
State
District
District Hqrs.
Large towns
Railways
Rivers
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
DARJEELING
JALPAIGURI
BAHE DIALECT
COOCH BEHAR
GOALPARA
KAMRUP
DARRANG
TEZPUR
NOWGONG
GAUHATI
DHUBRI
DIPHU
KOHIMA
UNITED MIKIR & NORTH CACHAR HILLS
SHILLONG
GARO HILLS
TURA
UNITED KHASI JAINTIA HILLS
HAJONG DIALECT
IMPHAL
MANIPUR
SARAN
MUZAFFARPUR
DARBHANGA
SAHARSA
PURNEA
DINAJPUR
RANGPUR
RANGPUR DIALECT
PATNA
BANKIPORE
ARRAH
SHAHABAD
W. DINAJPUR
BALURGHAT
MALDA
BHAGALPUR
MALPAHARIA DIALECT
MONGHYR
HAZARIBAGH
BOGRA
RAJSHAHI
MYMENSINGH DIALECT
MYMENSINGH
SYLHET
SYLHET DIALECT
SILCHAR
CACHAR
KISHOREGANJ DIALECT
SYLHET-CACHAR DIALECT
SANTAL PARGANAS
DUMKA
W. BIRBHUM DIALECT
SURI
BIRBHUM
BERHAMPORE
PABNA
W. DACCA DIALECT
DACCA
MANIKGANJ
NARAINGANJ
E. DACCA DIALECT
AGARTALA
TRIPURA
AIJAL
MIZO
DALTONGANJ
GAYA
PALAMAU
DHANBAD
ASANSOL
KUSHTIA
CHITTAGONG
BURDWAN
NADIA
COMILLA
TIPPERA
RANCHI
KHARIA THAR DIALECT
PURULIA
BANKURA
JESSORE
FARIDPUR
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SINGHBHUM
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CHITTAGONG DIALECT
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SUNDARGARH
MIDNAPORE
KAIVARTA DIALECT
BARIPADA
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1. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

Bengali is the language of over eighty million people, of whom a third live in West Bengal and Tripura, a few millions in the neighbor states within India, especially in the Cachar district of Assam, and the bulk in East Pakistan. It is one of the fourteen national languages of India, and one of the two of Pakistan. It is used as medium of instruction up to the postgraduate level in the humanities and up to the junior college level in the natural sciences. It is used for religious purposes only as subsidiary to Sanskrit for Hindus, and to Arabic for Muslims. There is great attachment to and pride about the language, about the literature, and even about the script, shared alike as these are across the political and religious divisions. Literacy was 29 per cent and urbanization 24 per cent in 1961 in West Bengal, somewhat less in East Pakistan.

Other languages also spoken in the area are chiefly Hindi-Urdu and English, each spoken almost wholly in urban areas, where each is also just as adequate for most purposes of life as Bengali is. In West Bengal alone, 276 newspapers were published in 1963 in English, 93 in Hindi, and 25 in Urdu, in comparison to 513 in Bengali. Also spoken are Nepali in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, Santali near the western boundaries of West Bengal, and various tribal languages distantly related to Tibetan and Burmese in Tripura, in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, and in the Chittagong Hills of East Pakistan. Calcutta is the largest city, with a population of over six millions, and has many relatively isolated linguistic communities, one of the largest of which speaks Oria.

Standard Bengali is not, however, perfectly uniform. There are two standards, Chalit and Sadhu. The former is now the dominant one, and is described more fully in this book. The latter is also described here, but briefly. In both standards a few peculiarities occur in the usage of some but not all Muslims, as will be described along with the Dacca dialect. In the Chalit, the main historical contributor has been the speech of Hooghly and Krishnagore, small towns along the river somewhat north of Calcutta. It is not however the only ingredient, and many Chalit forms are traced to contributions by other dialects. In the Sadhu, the dominant, though by no means the only contributor had been the speech of late 15th century Navadvip, a center of learning a little farther north along the river.

The history of the Bengali language begins in the early centuries of the present millenium. Before this time, there was only a family of dialects of the common eastern Indian prakrit. The Indo-Aryan languages fall into four distinct periods. In the first period, Vedic was the common standard. In the second, it was classical Sanskrit. In the third, there were many prakrits. And in the fourth, it is the modern standard languages. Within the last period, again, two phases are distinguished for Bengali. These various standards are directly related to one another in the line of cultural succession, but in terms of linguistic structure are only indirectly related through a common matrix of folk speech. One has not grown or decayed into the other, but each has been an attempt to create a uniform ideal out of the diverse and unstable speech of the people. The Chalit is now widely spoken, at least by all who have been to college.

Of the substandard dialects, two will be described in this book. The Dacca dialect is important, firstly, because it is the main ingredient in the speech to be heard in and around Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, and secondly, because it is rather closely related in formal structure to the dialects of the larger part of Bengal, including large areas in India. The Chittagong dialect is included as an example of an extremely deviant dialect. Some of the other highly deviant dialects not described in this book are Chakma along the Karnaphuli river in the Chittagong Hills, Sylhet, Hajong in northern Mymensingh and Sylhet, Rajbangshi in Rangpur - these in East Pakistan; Malpaharia in the Santhal

Parganas, Kharia Thar in the areas south west of Ranchi - these in Bihar; the Kaivarta speech in central Midnapore in West Bengal. The locations are shown in the accompanying map. No general survey of the dialects has been included.

In linguistic relationship, Bengali is closest to Assamese, then to Oriya, then to Hindi. The latter resemble each other somewhat more closely than Bengali, so that Bengali is regarded as the most recent and the most divergent of the eastern Indo-Aryan group of languages. Bengali is not, however, unmixed Indo-Aryan. The general structural patterns show numerous striking resemblances to the Dravidian languages of southern India. Many isolated words have been traced to Austroasiatic (which includes Cambodian and Vietnamese), to Tibeto-Burman (which includes Tibetan, Burmese, and Thai), to Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Portuguese. About 60 per cent of the word types in formal Bengali are classical Sanskrit, and about 15 per cent of the word types in informal Bengali are British English.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. *Segmental phonemes*.

2.1.1. Oral vowels. Seven are distinguished:

/i/ is front, spread and high. It is higher than American /i/ as in *fit*.

/u/ is back, rounded and high. It is higher than American /u/ as in *put*.

/e/ is front, spread and mid. It is lower than American /i/ as in *fit* but not as low as the /e/ in *get*.

/o/ is back, rounded and mid. It is lower than American /u/ as in *put* but not as low as the /o/ in *boy*.

/E/ is front, spread and low, quite like American /æ/ as in *cat*.

/O/ is back, rounded and low. It is lower than American /ɔ/ as in *law*, and is quite like American /a/ as in *hot*, but with the lips rounded.

/a/ is central, spread and low. It is somewhat more front than American /a/ as in *hot*.

2.1.2. Nasal vowels. Each of the above may, but only in word initial syllable, be nasalized by simultaneous opening of the passage to the nose in the back of the mouth. There is no suggestion of a nasal consonant or semivowel following the nasalized vowel. Also, no nasalized vowel is either contrastive or obligatory or even frequent before or after a nasal consonant. We write /M/ after a vowel to show when it is nasalized, e.g. /biMdh/ 'punch hole' /kuMj/ 'humpback' /beMji/ 'a mongoose' /boMca/ 'snub nose' /hEM/ 'yes' /dOMk/ 'a bog' /gaM/ 'village' /gaN/ 'river' /gan/ 'song' /haM/ 'opened mouth' /ham/ 'measles' /ma/ or, less commonly, /maM/ 'mother' /am/ or, less commonly, /aMm/ 'mangoes'.

2.1.3. Semivowels. Four are distinguished: /y w Y W/, which may be described as nonsyllabic varieties of [i u e o] respectively, e.g. /jay/ 'I go' /jaw/ 'oatmeal' /jaY/ 'he goes' /jaW/ 'you go' /day/ 'midwife' /dai/ 'responsible' /jo/ 'chance, occasion' /jow/ 'lacquer'.

2.1.4. Consonants. Thirty are distinguished, subdivided into ten continuants, further subdivided into three nasals, three liquids, and four fricatives, plus twenty plosives, further subdivided into ten unaspirates and ten aspirates.

/N/ is a velar nasal, quite like that in American singer, e.g. /SONka/ 'fear' /cOmkano/ 'to flash, to startle' /Thunko/ 'fragile' /pengulo/ 'those pens' /peNguin/ 'penguin' /SONe/ 'by some clown' /SONge/ 'accompanied by'.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal, quite like that in American met, e.g. /mama/ 'mother's brother'.

/n/ is an alveolar nasal, distinctly more front than American /n/ as in none, e.g. /nona/ 'full of salt'.

These nasals end sharply, without any suggestion of homorganic plosives following, e.g. /SONra/ 'clowns' /SONgram/ 'struggle' /robinra/ 'Robin and his friends' /robindro/ 'Rabindra'.

/l/ is alveolar, distinctly more front than even the clear variety in American lily, and never like the dark variety in feel, e.g. /lal/ 'red'.

/R/ is made by the underside of the tongue tip flapping down just once against the surface above the upper teeth ridge and not completely stopping the flow of breath down through the middle. Americans find it easier to make if they think of it as like their /rd/ as in hardy or as like their /l/ as in column, e.g. /beD/ 'flowerbed' /ber/ 'out' /beR/ 'circumference'.

/r/ is made as the tongue tip makes a groove in the middle and flaps up against the upper teeth ridge. The flap aspect is often inaudible after pause or juncture so that only a fricative is heard, and two flaps may sometimes be heard after a vowel or another /r/. Americans find it easier to make if they think of it as some kind of [z], e.g. /rasta/ 'street' /baro/ 'twelve' /car/ 'four' /gOrra/ 'uproar'.

/h/ is a voiceless puff of breath, with somewhat more prominent glottal friction than American /h/ as in *hat*, e.g. /hat/ 'hand' /cehara/ 'figure, face' /bah/ 'bravo'.

/S/ is hushing sibilant, lamino-prepalatal like the American one in *short* or *mash*, but neither lip-rounded nor tip-retroflexed, e.g. /SiSi/ 'phial' /baS/ 'habitation'.

/s/ is hissing sibilant, quite like one variety of American /s/ as in *sissy*. It is always lamino-alveolar, and never tip-retroflexed such as would often be in American *mess*, e.g. /bas/ 'bus' /soDa/ 'soda' /aSte/ 'upon coming (in order) to come' /aste/ 'slowly, quietly'.

/z/ is exactly like the /s/ above, but voiced, e.g. /zip/ 'zip' /jip/ 'jeep'.

/k g/ are velar. They are never postvelar as in American *cool*, *back*, *good* or *dog*. Bengali /kul/ 'plum' is [kul], rather different from American [k͐huu̯l͐]. The contact is between the back of the tongue and the soft palate near its conjunction with the hard palate, e.g. /kukur/ 'dog' /dag/ 'stain' /gul/ 'baloney'.

/c j/ are lamino-palatal affricated plosives, rather like those in *didn't you* or *did you*, but distinctly more front in the contact, and both unrounded and ungrooved in the release, e.g. /car/ 'four' /nac/ 'a dance' /jOj/ 'a judge'.

/T D/ are retroflex alveolar. They differ from American /t d/ as in *talk*, *dog* by having the underside of the tongue tip make the contact, and from many other Indian languages by having the contact against the upper teeth ridge, e.g. /TaT/ 'mat woven from spliced bamboo' /tat/ 'heat' /Dan/ 'right side' /dan/ 'gift' /beD/ 'flowerbed' /bed/ 'the Vedas'.

/t d/ are dental, with the tongue tip against the upper teeth, e.g. /pata/ 'leaf' /paTa/ 'plank' /soDa/ 'soda' /goda/ 'big, swollen'.

/p b/ are bilabial, comparable to those in American *pit*, *bit*, e.g. /pap/ 'sin' /Saeb/ 'Persianized or Anglicized gentlemen' /babu/ 'Mr. (if suffixed), fop, clerical assistant'.

/kh gh ch jh Th Dh th dh ph bh/ are aspirate plosives, traditionally considered distinct phonemes. They differ from the unaspirate plosives as listed above only in having a moment of voiceless friction, and breath follows immediately but for these exceptions: Before pause or juncture, /bh/ varies freely with a bilabial fricative [β] that sounds to Americans rather like their /v/. In all positions, /ph/ varies freely with a bilabial fricative [φ] that sounds to Americans rather like their /f/.

Voicing and aspiration are both distinctive in Bengali, e.g. /kal/ 'tomorrow, yesterday' /khal/ 'canal' /gal/ 'cheek' /ghal/ 'wounded' /bag/ 'behind part' /bagh/ 'tiger' /Sap/ 'snake' /Saph/ 'clean' /kOtha/ 'proposition' /Sudhu/ 'only' /bighno/ 'obstacle' /dOphtor/ 'office' /skhOlon/ 'fault' /sthir/ 'still, quiet' /sphuliNgo/ 'spark'.

2.2. Intonation.

2.2.1. Demarcation by intonation.

/=/ is tentative pause, a cessation of movement without relaxation, with a stretch of either silence or nonfunctional voicing.

/#/ is final pause, a stretch of silence with relaxation. Either kind of pause marks a pause group boundary, identified in the grammatical analysis presented in this book with the boundary of a grammatical clause.

/'/ is loud stress, and may occur either not at all or up to two times within a stress group. Very often it marks the beginning of a clause nucleus element, e.g. /uni tay 'khelen/ 'He therefore ate' /uni 'tay khelen/ 'He ate just that.'

/+/ is a momentary dip in loudness coincident with a momentary spurt in speed. It marks a stress group boundary in so far as that does not coincide with a pause group boundary. /+/ may often mark the beginning of a clause element word or phrase, or that of a compound word, e.g. /prithibiTa + 'kar bOS/ 'Who rules the world?' /prithibi + Ta'kar bOS/ 'Money rules the world.'

/:/ is extra length of a syllable nucleus vowel. It may sometimes mark the syllable as the last one of a minimal meaningful unit, e.g. /e: dokan Se: dokan khuMje =/ 'Searching through this shop and that one...' /paTa~pa:Ta/ 'that leg' beside /paTa/ 'a plank'.

/./ is syllable division, which is predictable if /y w Y W/ are admitted as distinctive phonemes.

2.2.2. Information by intonation.

A contour is what begins everytime with a pause or a juncture or a stress. It is the minimal frame for the distribution of distinct pitch phonemes. One to four pitch phonemes may occur in a contour, selected independently from among nine.

/$\overline{3}$/ high rising. It occurs before pause to indicate a challenge, e.g. /$\overset{2}{\text{tu}}$mi $\overset{3}{\text{na}}$ + '$\overset{2}{\text{ja}}\overset{\overline{3}}{\text{be}}$ =/ 'Aren't you supposed to go?'

/$\underline{3}$/ high falling. It occurs before pause to indicate a question, e.g. /'$\overset{2}{\text{gE}}\overset{3}{\text{che}}$ + $\overset{3}{\text{kO}}\overset{\underline{3}}{\text{khon}}$ =/ 'Has he ever gone?'

/3/ high even. It occurs before pause in calls or in storytelling, e.g. /$\overset{2}{\text{ra}}\overset{3}{\text{+:m}}$ =/ 'Ram!' /$\overset{2}{\text{Sa}}$ri $\overset{2}{\text{Sa}}$ri + '$\overset{3}{\text{ta:l}}$ + $\overset{2}{\text{tO}}\overset{3}{\text{ma:l}}$ #/

/$\overline{2}$/ mid rising. It occurs before pause to indicate a frame of reference as tentative query, e.g.

/$\overset{2}{\text{ey}}$ kO$\overset{2}{\text{lom}}\overset{\overline{2}}{\text{Ta}}$ = $\overset{2}{\text{jar}}$ dam Ek $\overset{3}{\text{So}}$ Ta$\overset{\underline{2}}{\text{ka}}$ = $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$m$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$'$\overset{2}{\text{u}}$p$\overset{1}{\text{o}}$har peech$\overset{\overline{1}}{\text{i}}$ #/ 'This pen, the price of which is Rs.100, I have received as a gift.'

/$\underline{2}$/ mid falling. It occurs before pause to indicate a frame of reference as tentative assumption. Example above.

/2/ mid even. It occurs before pause as a limiting condition to an expected statement, e.g.

/Sari Sari + 'ta:l + tOma:l # '$\overset{2}{\text{pa}}\overset{3}{\text{ha:R}}$ + $\overset{3}{\text{pOr}}\overset{2}{\text{bot}}$ #/ 'high and low hills'.

/1̄/ low rising. It occurs before pause to indicate a request,

```
        2 2     2̱    1            1̱   1̄
e.g.  /duTo + 'dO:S pOYSar TikiT din to #/ 'Please give me two ten
```

cent stamps.'

/1̱/ low falling. It occurs before pause to indicate a final

```
statement, e.g. /Sari Sari + 'ta:l + tOma:l # 'paha:R + pOrbot #
2̄             2      2̄     2  1 1̱
a:r chilo = choTo nodi + 'ma:lini #/ 'And there was also the little
```

river Malini.'

/1/ low even. It occurs before pause to indicate a statement that is not the last one of a series of statements, e.g.

```
      2      2     2 2̄   2     1    2       2    2      2̄     1̱
     /E:k nibiR + 'Oro:nno chilo # tate chilo + bORo bORo + 'bO:T #/
```

'There was a dense forest. In it there were many big wide trees.'

Little useful may be said about the meanings of pitch phonemes or their clusters when not before pause. High pitches /3̄ 3̱ 3/ often indicate excitement. Low pitches /1̄ 1̱ 1/ often indicate restraint. But excitement or restraint can both be either promising or fulfilling, either rewarding or threatening. Again, gliding pitches /3̄ 2̄ 1̄ 3̱ 2̱ 1̱/ often indicate a sense of emphasis, though emphasis may mean rather different things according to the context. To know the exact shade of meaning would be here less important than the ability to distinguish and reproduce typical intonations. A few samples may be cited of more complex patterns:

```
        2̱2̄1̱
     /'ma:t #/ 'Checkmate!'
       2    2      2     332̱
     /ka:l to + 'skul ache: =/ 'There is school tomorrow (exclamation-
```

cum-explanation).'

```
         2   3̄ 3̄
     /'pritthi:n =/ 'Is it really Prithvin?'
```

2.3. Vocal qualifiers.

A contour with stressed onset may optionally exhibit one of the following vocal qualifiers. In each case there is a grading or free increase of degree in the sound feature to convey a gradient meaning feature. In a general sense, all mean exaggerated attention.

/Overloud/ or increase of loudness, e.g. /$\overset{2}{\text{e}}\overset{2}{\text{T}}$a + '$\overset{1}{\text{a}}p''\overset{\underline{3}}{\text{n}}$ar =/ 'Is this yours?'

/Overlong/ or increase of vowel duration, chiefly in storytelling, e.g. /Sari Sari + ta::l + tOma::l =/ '...row after row of tall slender trees...'

/Overclipped/ or an intrusive /h/ at word syllable final. The meaning is impatient finality, e.g. /nah/ 'No.'

/Overhigh/ or general heightening of pitch levels, e.g. /$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$m$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$ t$\overset{3}{\text{O}}$khon + '$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$:r$\overset{\overline{3}}{\text{o}}$ cho$\overset{2}{\text{T}}\overset{\underline{1}}{\text{o}}$ #/ 'I was still younger then.'

/Overtense/, manifested as lengthening of postpausal consonant, e.g. /tta beS/ 'That is good'; and as laryngeal trill onset of postpausal vowel, e.g. /$\overset{?}{\text{a}}$accha/ 'All right'. The meaning is reluctant acceptance.

/Overround/ or a general rounding of lips. The meaning is affectionate banter.

/Overfront/ or a general palatal constriction, heard in the case of back vowels as a change to front vowel, e.g. /bEDDo legeche/ for /bODDo legeche/ 'It has hurt very much'. The meaning is a taunt.

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/Overbreathed/ or aspirated voicing. The meaning is tearful insistence.

/Overslow/ or intrusive juncture, e.g. /ra+'am =/ 'Ram! (a call)'.

Chart of vowels and semivowels:

iM	i	y		w	u	uM
eM	e	Y		W	o	oM
EM	E		a		O	OM
			aM			

Chart of consonants:

	ph		p	bh		b	m		
h									
	kh		k	gh		g	N		
									R
	Th		T	Dh		D			
							n	l	
	th		t	dh		d			
S		s			z				
	ch		c	jh		j			
									r

Chart for syllable division:

When V is any vowel, J any semivowel, and C any consonant

V.V	V.CV	VJ.V
	VC.CV	VJ.CV
	VC.CCV	VJ.CCV

3. ORTHOGRAPHY

3.1. The Bengali script is historically derived from the ancient Indian Brahmi, itself a modification of ancient southern Arabic, along a line of development a little different from that of the Devanagari. The script used for Assamese differs by two additional letters only, and those used for Manipuri and Maithili are fairly closely related to this script. The systematic features are as follows. It goes from left to right, but quite unlike Roman, hangs from the line. It also uses upstrokes as often as downstrokes, and prefers sharply reversed angles as often as looped or arched angles. There are no capitals, and the punctuation system is almost wholly taken from English. It is a syllabary, somewhat modified towards becoming an alphabet, and uses diacritics in all four directions to indicate noninitial vowels and some consonants.

3.2. The syllabary is recited in this order :

· স্বরবর্ণ / SOro bOrno/ 'vowel letters'

অ	read as /O/with actual values	/O o/ :	অনেক/Onek/ অতি/oti/
আ	/a/	/a E/ :	আমি/ami/আমেরিকা/Emerika/
ই	/hrOSSo i/or/roSSi/	/i y/ :	ইচ্ছে/icche/তাই/tay/
ঈ	/dirgho i/or/digghi/	/i/ :	ইঙ্গিত/iNgit/
উ	/hrOSSo u/or/roSSu/	/u w/ :	উকো/uko/ফাউ/phaw/
ঊ	/dirgho u/or/digghu/	/u/ :	ঊরু/uru/
ঋ	/ri/	/ri/ :	ঋতু/ritu/
এ	/e/	/e E/:	এমনি/emni/এমন/Emon/
ঐ	/oy/	/oi oy/:	ঐক্য/oikko/ঐ/oy/
ও	/o/	/o W/:	ও/o/ভাও/bhaW/
ঔ	/ow/	/ou ow/:	ঔদ্ধত্য/ouddhotto/ ঔদার্য্য/owdarjo/

ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণ / bEnjon bOrno/'consonant letters'

ক read as /kO/ with actual values /kO ko g/: কম/kOm/
চাকর/cakor/চাক/cak/একজন/Egjon/

খ /khO/ /khO kho kh k/: খত/khOt/
খই/khoy/আখ/akh ak/সুখতলা/SuktOla/

গ /gO/ /gO go g k/: গলা/gOla/
গলি/goli/রাগ/rag/দাগটা/dagta dakta/

ঘ /ghO/ /ghO gho gh g k/: ঘণ্টা/ghOnTa/
ঘড়ি/ghoRi/বাঘ/bagh bag/বিঘ্ন/bighno bigno/
বাঘটা/bagTa bakTa/

ঙ /uNo/ /NO No N/: ল্যাঙট/lENoT//রঙ/rON/

চ /cO/ /cO co c j s z S/ :চল/cOl/চটি/cOTi/
পাঁচ/paMc/পাঁচবার/paMjbar/পাঁচতলা/paMstOla/
পাঁচদিন/paMzdin/পাঁচশ/paMSSo/

ছ /chO/ /chO cho ch c j s z/: ছয়/chOY/
ছড়ি/choRi / মাছ / mach mac / মাছটা / masTa / মাছগুলো
/majgulo/মাছধরা/mazdhOra/

জ /jo/ /jO jo j z s/: জল/jOl/জন/jon/
কাজ/kaj/বাজনা/bazna/কাজটা/kazTa kasTa/

ঝ /jhO/ /jhO jho jh j z s/: ঝড়/jhOR/
ঝক্কি / jhokki/মাঝ/majh maj/বুঝলাম/buzlam/বুঝতে/buzte
buste/

ঞ /iMo/ /M n/ : যাচ্ঞা/jacna/মিঞা/miMa/
ব্যঞ্জন/bEnjon/

ট /TO/ /TO To T D/: টব/TOb/মোটর
/moTor/আট/aT/আটবার/aDbar/

ঠ /ThO/ /ThO Tho Th T D/: ঠক/ThOk/
গঠন / gOThon / কাঠ/kaTh kaT/উঠবেন/uThben UDben/
উঠতে/uThte uTte/

ড /DO/ /Do Do D T/: ডগা/DOga/বেড
/beD/বেডটা/beDTa beTTa/বডি/boDi/

ড় /DOY Sunno RO/ /RO Ro R/: ষোড়শ/SoROS/
গড়ন/gORon/উড়বেন/uRben/

ঢ /DhO/ /DhO Dho Dh/: ঢল/DhOl/ঢাল
/Dhal/

ঢ় /DhOY Sunno RO/ /Ro Ro R/ : আষাঢ়/aSaR/

ণ /murdhonno nO/or/muddhonno/ /nO no n/:গণনা/gOnona/
গুণ/gun/

ত /tO/ /tO to t d/: তলা/tOla/তলী/toli/

হাত/hat/হাতগুলো/hadgulo/

থ	/thO/	/thO tho th t d/: থ/thO/থই/thoy/ পথ/pOth/পথটা/pOtTa/পথগুলো/pOdgulo/শোথ/Soth Sot/
দ	/dO/	/dO do d t/: দল/dO1/দড়ি/doRi/ বাদ/bad/বাদটা/badTa batTa/
ধ	/dhO/	/dhO dho dh d t/ :ধরণ/dhOron/ ধনী/dhoni/শুধু/Sudhu Sudu/দুধটা/dudTa dutTa/
ন	/donto nO/or/dontonno/	/nO no n/ : নল/nO1/নলচে /nolce/কান/kan/
প	/pO/	/pO po p b/: পটকা/pOTka/ পলতে/polte/কাপ/cap/চাপদাড়ি/cabdaRi/
ফ	/phO/	/phO pho ph p b/: ফল/phOl/ ফকির/phokir/হাফ/haph hap/হাফ ব্যাক/habbEk/
ব	/bo/	/bO bo b p/: বড়/bORo/বন/bon/ সব/SOb/সবটা/SObTa SOpTa/
ভ	/bhO/	/bhO bho bh b p/: ভয়/bhOY/ ভরি/bhori/লাভ/labh/লাভটা/labTa lapTa/
ম	/mo/	/mO mo m/ : মজা/moja/মন/mon/ ডিম/Dim/
য	/Onthostho jO/	/jO jo j/ : যত/jOto/যদি/jodi/
য়	/Onthostho O/	/Yo Y e/or zero : বয়স/bOYoS bOYS bOeS/দায়/daY/দিয়ে/die/ধোওয়া/dhoWa/
র	/rO/	/rO ro r/or gemination of succeeding consonant : রঙ/rON/পরন/pOron/বার/bar/তার নাম/tar nam tannam/
ল	/1O/	/1O lo 1/: লংকা/1ONka/ভাল /bhalo/মাল/mal/
শ	/talobbo SO/	/SO So S s/ : শশা/SOSa/পশম /pOSom/পাশ/paS/বিশ্রী/bissri/
ষ	/murdhonno SO/	/SO So S/: ষণ্ডা/SOnDa/বিষম /biSom/চাষ/caS/
স	/donto SO/	/SO So s sO so s/:সব/SOb/ বাসন/baSon/মাস/maS/সস/sOs/বাস/bas/
হ	/hO/	/hO ho h/or zero or gemination of succeeding voiced consonant : হওয়া/hOWa/হল/holo/ আহ/ah/দরগাহ/dOrga/সহৃদয়/SOrridOY/

3.3.1. The multiple pronunciations are explained as follows : It is traditional theory that every consonant letter is to be considered to signal that consonant sound plus the sound of the letter অ, unless the absence of this inherent অ is specially marked by the subposed diacritic ্ called হস চিহ্ন/hOS cinno/. In actual practice, this diacritic is frequently omitted. Further, অ is very often pronounced /o/. Hence the first three alternative sound values for most consonant letters. No simple rules are adequate in this situation, though the following hint may be useful, namely that syllable final consonant clusters are not permitted in the language except in recent loanwords and that too in word final only. e.g. তর্ক/tOrko/ 'argument' কর্ক /kOrk/ 'cork.'

3.3.2. The case of এ is similar, and nearly all that can be said about the choice between pronunciations /e/ and /E/ is that the latter is uncommon unless at word initial or unless followed by some vowel other than /i u/.

3.3.3. A few words have nasalization in sound but not in spelling, e.g. কাচ / kaMc/ হাসা/haMSa/হাসপাতাল / haMSpatal/ঘোড়া/ghoRa ghoMRa/

3.3.4. The verbal suffixes with ছ vary freely between /ch/ and /c/ in pronunciation, the latter with implication of greater informality, e.g. করছি / korchi korci kocci/বলছ/bolcho bolco/

3.3.5. Other patterns are by reference to regular constraints on distribution, more evident in fast informal speech.

3.3.5.1. Aspiration in plosives is not contrastive before any consonant e.g. পথটা / pOthTa pOtTa / শীঘ্র / Sighro Sigro/

3.3.5.2. Voicing in plosives is not contrastive before any plosive, and is controlled by voicing or its absence in the succeeding plosive, e. g. পদগুলো/pOdgulo/পথগুলো / pOthgulo pOdgulo/রাখছি/rakhchi rakci/রাগছি/ragchi rakci/

3.3.5.3. Dental plosives are not contrastive before palatal affiricated plosives, e.g. সাত/Sat/সাতচল্লিশ/SaccolliS/সাতজন/Sajjon/

3.3.5.4. Affricates are not contrastive before noncompact consonants, that is, before any consonants other than velar or labial, e.g. পাঁচ /paMc/পাঁচতলা/paMstOla/মাছ/mach/মাছটা/masTa/পাঁচশ/paMSSO/ বুঝ/bujh/বুঝলাম/buzlam/

3.3.5.5. Hissing /s/ does not occur unless in syllable initial cluster, where hushing /S/ is not permitted, or in recent loanword, e.g. স্রোত /srot/লিষ্ট/lisT/বাস/bas/সুপ/sup/

3.3.5.6. /z/ does not occur unless before noncompact consonant or in recent loanword, e.g. বজ্র/bOzro/জু / zu ju/

3.3.5.7. /r/ is replaced by gemination for succeeding non-compact consonant, e.g. করছি/kocci/চারজন/cajjon/পরদা/pOdda/

3.3.5.8. /h/ does not occur before pause or consonant, except in interjections, e.g. দরগাহ / dOrga / আহমেদ / amed / বহরমপুর /bOhorompur bOrompur/

3.3.5.9. /h/ is replaced by gemination of succeeding consonant in Sanskrit words, e.g. আহ্লাদ/allad/ব্রহ্মা/bromma/বহ্নি/bonni/

3.3.5.10. In a common but clearly substandard style of speech, aspiration in plosives is noncontrastive even before pause, e.g. বাঘ /bagh bag/পথ/pOth pOt/

3.3.5.11. In a common but clearly substandard style of speech, /r/ is replaced by gemination of succeeding compact consonant, e.g. তর্ক /tOrko tOkko/কর্ম/kOrmo kommo/

3.3.5.12. In a common but clearly substandard style of speech, /S/ may be voiced before a voiced plosive, e.g. বসবে/boSbe bOZbe/. A voiced hushing sibilant /Z/ does not otherwise occur in the language.

3.3.5.13. In a common but clearly substandard style of speech, হ is not pronounced between vowels, e.g. চেহারা/cehara ceara/

3.4. In non-initial positions, the vowel letters are subsituted by diacritics attached to consonant letters in different positions.

আ is substituted by postposed া e.g. দাদা/dada/
ই is substituted by preposed ি e.g. দিদি/didi/
ঈ is substituted by postposed ী e.g. রীতি/riti/
উ is substituted by subposed ু e.g. 'পুতুল/putul/

But note these special forms :

গু=গ ু; রু=র ু
শু=শ ু; হু=হ ু

ঊ is substituted by subposed ূ e.g. দূর/dur/
But note these special forms : রূ=র ূ; ভ্রূ=ভ্র ূ; ত্রূ=ত্র ূ
ঋ by subposed ৃ e.g. কৃত/krito/মৃৎ/mrit/
But note this special form : হৃ=হ ৃ
এ by preposed ে e.g. তেল/tel/পরে/pOre/
ঐ by preposed ৈ e.g. দৈ/doy/দৈত্য/doitto/
ও by preposed ে cum postposed া e.g. কোন/kon/ ভালো/bhalo/
ঔ by preposed ে cum postposed ৗ e.g. বৌ/bow/ কনৌজ/kOnouj/

These diacritics are read as 'such and such /kar/', e. g. া /a kar/ এ/e kar/

3.5. There are a number of diacriticrics of different sort.

Postposed ং read as /onuSSar/ occurs only at syllable end to indicate /N/. e.g. রং/rON/ বাংলা/baNla/

Postposed ঃ read as /biSOrgo/ indicates /h/ in word final. Elsewhere it signifies gemination of the succeeding consonant. e.g. বাঃ /bah/দুঃখ/dukkho/

The above two are often used as marks of abbreviation. e.g. সং short for সম্পাদক/SOmpadok/'editor' পুঃ short for পুনশ্চ/punoSco/ 'postcript'

Postposed ৎ read as /khOnDo tO/ occurs only at syllable end to indicate /t/ e.g. সৎ/SOt/পাৎলা/patla/

Sub-and post-posed ্ম read as /mO phola/ has no sound after an initial consonant. Elsewhere it signifies gemination of the preceding consonant, with nasalization of preceding vowel in some cases. A number of exceptions occur for which the value is /m/ e.g. শ্মশান /SOSan/স্মিত/Sito smito/ভস্ম/bhOSSo/আত্মা/aMtta/জন্ম/jOnmo/

Postposed ্য read as /jO/ phola/ is /e E/ after an initial consonant. It is not sounded before any vowel other than /a kar/, when the two together indicate /E/. Non-initially, it signifies gemination of preceding consonant. e.g. ব্যক্তি / bekti / ব্যথা / bEtha / কাব্য / kabbo / ব্যাদড়া/bEdRa/নব্যা/nobbE/চ্যুতি/cuti/ব্যোম/bom/

It is also a practice currently to use the /jO phola/ as a multipurpose diacritic for exotic vowels. e.g. গ্যেটে 'Goethe' ল্য ম্যুর 'Le Mur'

Subposed ব read as /bO phola/ has no sound after an initial consonant. Eleswhere it signifies gemination of the preceding consonant. In a few words only, usually below ম/m/, it indicates/b/. e.g. স্বর/SOr/ত্বরা/tOra/বিশ্ব/biSSO/লম্বা/lomba / কিম্বা / kimba / সম্বন্ধ /SOmmondho/

Subposed ্র read as /rO phola/ is a succeeding র, though often not pronounced in fast informal speech, e.g.প্রথা/protha/দ্রুত/druto/ভ্রু/bhru/প্রত্যেক/prottek pottek/লাইব্রেরী/layberi/. Superposed ´ read as /reph/ is a preceding র e.g. তর্ক/tOrko/সির্কা/Sirka/সর্দি/Sordi Soddi/

Superposed ঁ read as /cOndro bindu/ is nasalization of the vowel, occasionally of the preceding vowel. e. g. চাঁদ/caMd/বাঁকা/baMka/গোঁসাই/goMSay/

Postposed ' read as /opor kOma/ has various sound values and is just a device to distinguish homographs. e.g. করে/kOre/'he does it' করে ক'রে/kore/'after doing it পাটা/paTa/ 'plank' পাটা পা'টা /paTa pa:Ta/'that leg'

3.6. There are a great many conjunct letters for writing consonant clusters. The following among them have in the course of history assumed independent values.

ক্ষ read as /khio/ was in Sanskrit ক্+ষ, then in medieval practice equivalent to খ্য, and is currently /khO kho kh/ in word initial, /kkho kkh/ elsewhere, e.g. ক্ষমা / khOma / ক্ষতি/khoti / ক্ষান্ত/khanto/ পক্ষ/pOkkho/শিক্ষা/Sikkha/

জ্ঞ read as /giMO/ was in Sanskrit জ্+ঞ, then in medieval practice equivalent to গ্যঁ, and is currently /gOM gOM gM/ in word initial,/ggoM ggM/ elsewhere. /a kar/ is pronounced /E/ if after this letter. e. g. জ্ঞপ্তি / goMpti / জ্ঞাতি / gEMti / জ্ঞান/gEn/বিজ্ঞান/biggEn/বিজ্ঞ /biggoM/

হ্ম read as /hOY mO phola/ is in hypothesis হ্+ম, but is actually pronounced /mm/ e.g. ব্রাহ্মণ/brammon/ব্রহ্মা/bromma/

হ্ব read as /hOY bO phola/ is in hypothesis হ্+ব, but is in Bengali pronounced /bbh/. e. g. বিহ্বল /bibbhOl biwbhOl/আহ্বান /abbhan aWbhan/

হ্য read as /hOY jO phola/ is not exceptional in word initial. But elsewhere it is /jjho jjh/. e.g. হ্যাঁ/hEM/সহ্য/Sojjho/

3.7. Other conjunct letters are listed here according to the first member, in so far as there is some special problem of recognition. Those not listed occur in the regular manner, which is either to attach a ্ /hOS cinno/ to the earlier members of the cluster, or to subpose the later member of the cluster below the earlier member. e.g.

শঙ্খ/SONkho/ঝঞ্ঝা ঝঞ্‌ঝা/jhOnjha/পাল্লা পাল্‌লা/palla/আড্‌ডা /aDDa/লজ্জা/lOjja/

ক্ট/kT/ক্ত/kt/ক্ন/kn/ক্র/kr/ক্ল/kl/ক্ষ/kS ks/
ঙ্ক/nk/ঙ্গ/Ng/
চ্চ/cc/চ্ছ/cch/
ঞ্চ/nc/ঞ্ছ/nch/ঞ্জ/nj/
ট্ট/TT/ড্ড/DD/
ণ্ট/nT/ণ্ঠ/nTh/ণ্ড/nD/
ত্ত/tt/ত্থ/tth/ত্ন/tn/ত্র/tr/
দ্দ/dd/দ্ধ/ddh/
ন্ত/nt/ন্থ/nth/ন্দ/nd/ন্ধ/ndh/ন্ন/nn/ন্তু/ntu/ন্ত্র/ntr/
প্ট/pT/প্ত/pt/প্ন/ph/প্ল/pl/প্স/ps pS/
ব্দ/bd/ব্ধ/bdh/ব্ব/bb/
ম্প/mp/ম্ফ/mph/ম্ব/mb/
শ্চ/Sc/
ষ্ক/Sk/ষ্ট/ST/ষ্ঠ/STh/ষ্ণ/Sn/
স্ক/Sk sk/স্ত/st/স্থ/sth/স্তু/stu/স্ত্র/str/
হ্ণ/nn/(হ্+ণ)হ্ন/nn/(হ্+ন) হ্ল/hl/

3.8. The punctuation system is almost wholly borrowed from English. An important difference is that । read as / daMRi/ is used instead of the period, and much more frequently than the period would be in English, in places where those accustomed to English would expect a colon, a semicolon or even a comma.

3.9. Spelling is fairly well standardized. There are, however, some marginal indeterminacies, and this due to four reasons. One is that a large and increasing number of borrowings are taking place from English, and these cannot be provided with unique transcriptions in the Bengali orthograhy, e.g. বৃটেন ব্রিটেন/briTen/'Britain'. Another is that words have been borrowed into the standard from different dialects of Bengali, e.g. বললাম/bollam/বল্লুম/bollum/ 'I have said it.' Still another is that words taken from Sanskrit may often be spelt in alternative ways even according to the standard Sanskrit grammar, e.g. পাশ্চাত্য পাশ্চাত্ত্য/paScatto/ 'occidental'. Finally, non-Sanskrit words of folk origin had until recently no common written shapes and so have to depend on the not very phonemic orthography alone for their spellings e.g. রাণী রানি/rani/ 'queen'.

3.10. Samples of Handwriting.

এক নিবিড় অরণ্য ছিল। তাতে ছিল বড় বড় বট,
সারি সারি তাল তমাল, পাহাড় পর্বত, আর ছিল
ছোট নদী মালিনী।

এক নিবিড় অরণ্য ছিল। তাতে ছিল বড় বড়
বট, সারি সারি তাল তমাল, পাহাড় পর্ব্বত,
আর ছিল ছোট নদী মালিনী।

3.11. Letter formation in handwriting cannot be described here in the necessary detail. It must be warned, however, that it is not safe to reproduce the printed letter by hook or crook. A writing system consists not only in the achieved visual results, but also in the knowledge of procedure, that is, of where to begin, in which directions to go or to turn, what features may be played down or omitted or varied within the range of legitimate variations.

4. VERB WORDS

The verb word is analyzable into a stem and a suffix. The dictionary entry form for a verb is the nominal, and is taken here as the point of departure. The stem is obtained from this by subtracting, from a bisyllabic verb, the final /a/, and from a trisyllabic verb the final /no/, e.g. /kOra/ 'to do, to make, to perform' is {kOr+a}, /paWa/ 'to get' is {-paW + a-}; /palano/ 'to escape' is {pala + no}; /paWano/ 'to cause to get' is {paWa + no}.

4.1. Stem classes.

There are twenty-nine stem classes, which means that if paradigms are set up in the traditional style, twenty-nine paradigms would be needed. Twenty-five of these are illustrated by the verbs in the following list: /khEla/ 'to play' /phera/ 'to turn' /deWa/ 'to give' /kOra/ 'to do, to make' /bOWa/ 'to carry' /hOWa/ 'to be, to become, to happen' /bhola/ 'to forget' /noWa/ 'to bend' /dhoWa/ 'to wash' /ana/ 'to bring' /aSa/ 'to come' /gaWa/ 'to sing' /caWa/ 'to desire' /paWa/ 'to get' /jaWa/ 'to go' /palano/ 'to escape' /deWano/ 'to cause to give' /SOWano/ 'to accustom' /noWano/ 'to cause to bend' /paWano/ 'to cause to get' /egono/ 'to advance' /eguno/ 'to advance' /dowRano/ 'to run' /dowRono/ 'to run' /dowRuno/ 'to run'.

The 26th paradigm consists of only one verb which is incomplete even to the extent of lacking a nominal. The stem alternant is /ach/ for VS-10 through VS-14 in Tense 3, suppleted by /chi/ for VS-25 through VS-30 in Tense 6. It does not occur with VS-28. The meaning is 'to be there', e.g. /amar EkTa kOlom ache/ 'I have a pen', /kOlom ache/ 'There is a pen.' See also 8.5.

The 27th paradigm is given in 6.3.

The 28th paradigm consists of a single word /ney/ as given in 6.3.

The 29th paradigm consists of a single word /bOTe/ 'It is indeed so.'

In what follows, rather than listing paradigms, it is considered more useful to specify each suffix first, and then classify the stems according to their deviations from the normative form extracted from the nominal.

4.2. Bisyllabic stems.

Innovations are possible only in the bisyllabic stems, and are even then very rare, e.g.

/aNul/ 'a finger' /aNlano/ 'to finger'
/bOrSa/ 'the rain' /bOrSano/ 'to rain'
/biS/ 'poison' /biSono/ 'to be poisoned'
/mukh/ 'face' /mukhono/ 'to face up to, to defend aggressively'

The bisyllabic stems may be regarded as compound stems, with {a} manifested as /a/ or /o/ or /u/ as the second member. Some stems with /o/ as the second member have corresponding forms, different in stylistic value but not in meaning, in stems with /a/ as the second member, in addition to the following alternations for the vowel of the first member:

/e o/ and /a a/, e.g.
/egono/ /perono/ : /agano/ /parano/
/u o/ and /o a/, e.g.
/bhulono/ /uRono/ : /bholano/ /oRano/
/i o/ and /e a/, e.g.
/phirono/ /SiMTkono/ : /pherano/ /SeMTkano/

Similarly, some bisyllabic stems with /u/ as the final vowel have alternants, not different in meaning even if a little different in style, with /o/ as the final vowel. There is no change in the first vowel, e.g. /eguno~egono/, /ulTuno~ulTono/, /pichuno~pichono~pechono/.

But a generalization would not be true in either case: Note /calano/, though no */celono/; /biSono/, though no */beSano/; /phirono/, though no */phiruno/.

Further, there are numerous correspondences between monosyllabic stems and bisyllabic stems, when the difference in meaning is a causative feature in the latter, e.g. /kOra/ 'to do it'

/kOrano/ 'to make someone do it'; /saja/ 'to dress' /sajano/ 'to decorate, arrange'.

But not all bisyllabic stems have a corresponding non-causative monosyllabic form, e.g. /dowRono/, though no */dowRa/; /SaMtrano/, though no */saMtra/; /aNlano/, though no */aNla/.

Often there are homonyms in bisyllabic stems, one with and the other without a corresponding monosyllabic form, e.g. /palano/ 'to escape' /palano/ 'to make or to get someone to nurture' /pala/ 'to nurture'; /harano/ 'to lose a possession' /harano/ 'to defeat someone (to make someone lose a contest)' /hara/ 'to lose a contest'.

4.3. Verb suffixes.

There are 50 suffixes, of which 10 have to be given a special status. These are described as follows. The symbol /:/ is used here to separate the base and the derivative.

VS-1. Nominal. /a/ for monosyllabic and /no/ for bisyllabic stems. A stem final /W/ is unstable if not in phrase final word, e.g. /paWa~pa/ 'to get, gotten' /deWa~dea/ 'to give, given' /hOWa~hOa/ 'to become, become'. The meaning is that of verbal noun, whether as action in the abstract, e.g. 'to do', 'the doing of'; or as completed action attributed to an object, e.g. 'the done'. This is the form entered in a dictionary, e.g. /phul sajano/ 'to arrange flowers, the arranging of flowers' /sajano phul/ 'the arranged flowers' /kaj kOra/ 'to do work, the doing of work' /kOra kaj/ 'the work done'. Less commonly, the meaning may be that of 'one who does', e.g. /iSkul palano chele/ 'boy who runs away from school'.

VS-2. Deutero-nominal. /ba/ for all stems. The meanings are the same as of VS-1, except that in a certain few cases it may imply that the action is still in the future, e.g. /kOrar jonne/ 'for the sake of doing it, because of doing it' /korbar jonne/ 'for the sake of doing it'.

In monosyllabic stems:

/E/ changes to /e/, e.g. /khEla:khelba/ /ghEMSa:gheMSba/

/e/ before consonant changes to /i/, e.g. /phera:phirba/ /cheMRa:
chiMRba/

/e/ before semivowel /W/ stays the same, but the semivowel drops out, e.g. /deWa:deba/ /neWa:neba/

/O/ before consonant changes to /o/, e.g. /bOla:bolba/ /kOra:korba/

/O/ before semivowel /W/ changes to /o/, and the /W/ changes to /y/, e.g. /SOWa:Soyba/ /bOWa:boyba/

/O/ before semivowel /W/ stays the same, but the semivowel drops out, e.g. /hOWa:hOba/ /SOWa:SOba/

/o/ before consonant changes to /u/, e.g. /bhola:bhulba/ /oRa:uRba/

/o/ before /W/ changes to /u/, and /W/ changes to /y/, e.g. /noWa:nuyba/ /roWa:ruyba/

/o/ before /W/ stays the same, but the /W/ drops out, e.g. /dhoWa:dhoba/ /SoWa:Soba/

/a/ before consonant does not change, e.g. /ana:anba/ /aSa:aSba/

/a/ before /W/ stays the same, and the /W/ changes to /y/, e.g. /caWa:cayba/ /gaWa:gayba/

/a/ before /W/ stays the same, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /paWa:paba/ /jaWa:jaba/

No change for any bisyllabic stem, e.g. /palano:palaba/ /paWano:paWaba/ /dowRono:dowRoba/ /dowRuno:dowRuba/.

VS-3. Durative. /te/. The meanings are (a) incomplete action as immediate sequence, e.g. /dekhte jabo/ 'I will go to see' /amar phirte deri hObe/ 'as regards me it will be late before I return'; (b) completed action demanding immediate sequence, e.g. /bolte or rag holo/ 'as it was said he got angry' /uni aSte SOkole boSlo/ 'as soon as he came all sat down'; and (c) modifier in respect to action, e.g. /dekhte bhalo/ 'good to look at' /dekhte icche/ 'desire to see' /dekhte manuS/ 'looks like a human being'.

In monosyllabic stems:

/E/ changes to /e/, e.g. /khEla:khelte/ /ghEMSa:gheMste/

/e/ before consonant changes to /i/, e.g. /phera:phirte/ /cheMRa:chiMRte/

/e/ before consonant changes to /i/, and /W/ drops out, e.g. /deWa:dite/ /neWa:nite/

/O/ before consonant changes to /o/, e.g. /bOla:bolte/ /kOra:korte/

/O/ before /W/ changes to /o/, and the /W/ to /y/, e.g. /SOWa: Soyte/ /bOWa:boyte/

/O/ before /W/ changes to /o/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /hOWa: hote/

/o/ before consonant changes to /u/, e.g. /bhola:bhulte/ /oRa:uRte/

/o/ before /W/ changes to /u/, and the /W/ to /y/, e.g. /noWa: nuyte/ /roWa:ruyte/

/o/ before /W/ changes to /u/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /dhoWa: dhute/ /SoWa:Sute/

/a/ before consonant stays the same, e.g. /ana:ante/ /aSa:aSte/

/a/ before /W/ stays the same, but the /W/ changes to /y/, e.g. /caWa:cayte/ /gaWa:gayte/

/a/ before /W/ changes to /e/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /jaWa: jete/ /paWa:pete/

No change in bisyllabic stems, e.g. /palano:palate/ /paWano:paWate/ /dowRono:dowRote/ /doRuno:dowRute/

VS-4. Conditional. /le/ The meaning is that of a hypothetical or conditional completion of action, e.g. /parle korbo/ 'I will do it if I can' /hole bhalo/ 'good if it happens' /ciThi pele jObab debo/ 'I shall send a reply when I get the letter'. Stem changes as for VS-3. Exception is for the verb /aSa/, which has free variation between stem alternants /aS/ and /e/ in the resultant forms /aSle/ and /ele/; and for the verb /jaWa/ with obligatory suppletion of stem /jaW/ by alternant /ge/ in the resultant form /gele/.

VS-5. Conjunctive. /e/; optionally /Y/ in /hoWa:hoe~hoY/, optionally /y/ or zero in /khaWa:khee~khey~khe/ /paWa:pee~pey~pe/ /caWa:cee~cey~ce/, optionally zero in /neWa:nie~ni/ /deWa:die~di/, only if not the last word in a phrase.

The meaning is that of a past that is continued into, modified by and succeeded in a sequence by a present. /SeS kore jabo/ 'I shall go after I finish it' /birokto hoe phire elen/ 'he got disgusted and came back' /Sune Sabdhan/ 'careful already on hearsay (before actually seeing the thing)'.

In monosyllabic stems:

/E/ changes to /e/, e.g. /khEla:khele/ /ghEMSa:gheMSe/

/e/ before consonant changes to /i/, e.g. /phera:phire/ /cheMRa: chiMRe/

/e/ before /W/ changes to /i/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /deWa: die/ /neWa:nie/

/O/ before consonant changes to /o/, e.g. /bOla:bole/ /kOra:kore/

/O/ before /W/ changes to /o/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /SOWa:Soe/ /hOWa:hoe/

/o/ before consonant changes to /u/, e.g. /bhola:bhule/ /oRa:uRe/

/o/ before /W/ changes to /u/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /noWa: nue/ /SoWa:Sue/

/a/ before consonant changes to /e/, e.g. /ana:ene/ /aSa:eSe/

/a/ before /W/ changes to /e/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /caWa: cee/ /paWa:pee/

Exception for /jawa/, for which the resultant form is {ge + e}, i.e. /gie~ge/, less commonly /jee/.

In bisyllabic stems:

Final /a o u/ changes to /i/, e.g. /palano:palie/ /egono:egie/ /eguno:egie/

Final /a o u/ optionally drops out, e.g. /dowRano:dowRie~dowRe/ /dowRono:dowRie~dowRe/ /dowRuno:dowRie~dowRe/

Medial /W/ drops out, final /a o u/ is replaced by /y/, and the first vowel changes as follows:

/e/ becomes /i/, e.g. /deWano:diye/ /neWano:niye/

/O/ becomes /o/, e.g. /SOWano:Soye/ /hOWano:hoye/

/o/ becomes /u/, e.g. /noWano:nuye/ /SoWano:Suye/

/a/ stays the same, e.g. /caWano:caye/ /paWano:paye/

VS-6 through VS-50 are often summarized under the label of finite verb, as distinguished from the non-finite verbs, VS-1 through VS-5. And, for VS-6 through VS-50, the following semantic distinctions are necessary.

First person implicates the speaker as the actor.

Second person implicates the hearer as the actor. Three kinds of second person are distinguished: familiar implies that the hearer or the speaker or both are either of a very low status or very much junior in age, or have been intimate from childhood days; ordinary implies that the hearer or the speaker or both are of low status, or rather junior in age, or have been rather intimate; honorific implies that the hearer is of high status, senior in age, or is a stranger (nothing committed about the speaker).

Third person implicates someone other than either the speaker or the hearer as the actor. Two kinds of third person are distinguished: ordinary implies relatively low status in respect to the hearer, and honorific implies relatively high status in respect to the hearer (nothing is specified about the rank or intimacy in respect to the speaker). Thus, an upper-class father will normally address his young son with the ordinary second person but in speaking about his son to a servant will use the honorific third person.

Although second and third honorific persons are distinguished by personal pronouns, there is only one set of verbal suffixes for both. There are thus only five persons formally indicated by the finite verb.

Number and sex are not specified by any verbal suffix, e.g. /Se anche/ 'he is bringing it' /tara anche/ 'they are bringing it' /cheleTa elo/ 'the boy came' /meeTa elo/ 'the girl came'.

The following tenses are distinguished.

Tense 1 is used for simple imperatives, e.g. /edike aSun/ 'please come this way' /phire ja/ 'go back'.

Tense 2 is used for an imperative with attention on the state after completion of the action, e.g. /edike theko/ 'you should be staying in this direction (when in an unspecified future a check is made)'.

Tense 3 is used for (a) timeless truths, e.g. /Omon hOY na/ 'it does not happen that way' /Sitkale khub ThanDa pORe/ 'it gets very cold in winter'; (b) extended or habitual present, e.g. /uni boy poRte bhalobaSen na/ 'he doesn't like reading books' /ami roj SatTaY uThi/ 'I get up at seven every day'; (c) narrated historic time, e.g. /tini Sekhan theke dilli jan/ 'from there he went to

Delhi' /bimbiSarer pOr raja hOn OjatoSotru/ 'after Bimbisāra it was Ajātaśatru who became king'; and (d) anticipated present, e.g. /ami tObe jay/ 'may I go then?' /jOkhon aSe/ 'when he comes' /edike thako/ 'you stay this way now' /tumi thako/ 'you stay'.

Tense 4 is used for (a) conjectures, e.g. /bakSoTa bhari hObe/ 'that box should be heavy' /briSTi eybar thambe/ 'the rain will probably stop now'; (b) intentions, e.g. /uni jaben Emon SOmoy briSTi elo/ 'as he wanted to go, it started raining' /kal aSben/ 'come tomorrow'.

Tense 5 is used for (a) extended or habitual past, e.g. /o roj bikele phuTbOl khelto/ 'he used to play football every afternoon' /ami tOkhon dine matro Egbar kOphi khetam/ 'I used to have only one cup of coffee a day then'; and (b) a conditional possibility, e.g. /noyle niScoy aStam/ "I would have surely come otherwise' /bolle jetam/ 'I would have gone if asked'.

Tense 6 is used for (a) simple past, e.g. /uni tokkhuni bollen/ 'he immediately said' /kOkhon elen/ 'when did you arrive?'; (b) anticipated past, e.g. /ey je boSlam/ 'there, I have sat down (will have sat down by the time you check)' /collam/ 'I am going now!'; and (c) narrated beginning, e.g. /omni dokkhiner haWa dilo pata dhorlo phul phuTlo bOSonto eSe gElo/ 'immediately the south wind came up, leaves sprouted, flowers blossomed; the spring was there'.

Tense 7 is used for (a) an incomplete action in the present, e.g. /jacchi/ 'I am going' /uni ghumocchen/'he is sleeping'; and (b) a future prepared for in the present, e.g. /jacchi/ 'I intend to go soon' /uni Onekkhon thekey ghumocchen/ 'he is preparing to go to sleep for a long time now'.

Tense 8 is used for (a) an incomplete action in the past, e.g. /jacchilam/ 'I was going to go' /uni ghumocchilen/ 'he was sleeping'; and (b) a future prepared for in the past, e.g. /jacchilam/ 'I was going to go' /uni Onekkhon thekey ghumocchilen/ 'he was preparing to go to sleep for a long time'.

Tense 9 is used for (a) an indefinite past, e.g. /ora kolkata gEche/ 'they have gone to Calcutta' /kobiguru bolechen/ 'the Master

Poet has said'; and (b) an action completed in the past with effects enduring into the present, e.g. /ami kheechi/ 'I have eaten' /gEcho/ 'have you gone yet?'.

Tense 10 is used for action completed in the past, e.g. /amra Opekkha korechilam/ 'we had waited' /giechilam~gechlam/ 'we had gone (there)'.

VS-6. No suffix. Second person familiar. Tense 1. There are several alternants. In monosyllabic stems, the bare stem is used, e.g. /khEla:khEl/ /phera:pher/ /bOla:bhol/ /ana:an/. Exception: /bOSa/ changes not to /bOS/ but to /boS/.

In monosyllabic stems with /W/ before final vowel, the /W/ is dropped, e.g. /deWa:de/ /hOWa:hO/ /SoWa:So/ /caWa:ca/.

In bisyllabic stems, the bare stem is used, e.g. /palano: pala/ /khaWano:khaWa/ /dowRono:dowRo/. Exception: in bisyllabic stems with /u/ as second vowel, the /u/ is replaced by /o/ (in addition to the omission of /no/), e.g. /dowRuno:dowRo/ /eguno: ego/.

VS-7. /o/. Second person ordinary. The meaning is generally Tense 2, but for two verbs - /aSa/ and /bOSa/ - an alternative meaning is Tense 1, e.g. /Sekhane eSo/ 'you should be there' /ekkhuni eSo/ 'come immediately'. /Sekhane boSo/ 'you should be sitting there' /ekhuni boSo/ 'sit down right now'. Stem changes as for VS-5.

VS-8. /uk/ in monosyllabic stems, and /k/ in bisyllabic and /W/-final stems. Third person ordinary. Tense 1.

Stem changes for monosyllabic stems:

/E/ changes to /e/, e.g. /khEla:kheluk/ /ghEMSa:gheMSuk/

/e/ before consonant changes to /i/, e.g. /phera:phiruk/ /cheMRa: chiMRuk/

/e/ before /W/ changes to /i/, and the /W/ is dropped, e.g. /deWa:dik/ /neWa:nik/

/O/ before consonant changes to /o/, e.g. /bOla:boluk/ /kOra: koruk/

/O/ before /W/ changes to /o/ and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /SOWa: Sok/ /hOWa:hok/

/o/ before consonant changes to /u/, e.g. /bhola:bhuluk/ /oRa: uRuk/

/o/ before /W/ changes to /u/ and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /noWa: nuk/ /SoWa:Suk/

/a/ before consonant stays the same, e.g. /ana:anuk/ /aSa:aSuk/

/a/ before /W/ stays the same and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /caWa: cak/ /paWa:pak/

No changes in bisyllabic stems, e.g. /palano:palak/ /khaWano: khaWak/ /dowRono:dowRok/ /dowRuno:dowRuk/

VS-9. /un/ in monosyllabic, /n/ in bisyllabic and /W/-final stems. Honorific second or third person. Tense 1. Stem changes as for VS-8.

VS-10. /i/ after a consonant and /y/ after a vowel. First person. Tense 3.

In monosyllabic stems:

/E/ becomes /e/, e.g. /khEla:kheli/ /ghEMSa:gheMSi/

/e/ before consonant changes to /i/, e.g. /phera:phiri/ /cheMRa: chiMRi/

/e/ before /W/ changes to /i/ and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /deWa: diy/ /neWa:niy/

/O/ before consonant changes to /o/, e.g. /bOla:boli/ /kOra:kori/

/O/ before /W/ changes to /o/ and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /SOWa: Soy/ /hOWa:hoy/

/o/ before consonant changes to /u/, e.g. /bhola:bhuli/ /oRa:uRi/

/o/ before /W/ changes to /u/ and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /noWa: nuy/ /dhoWa:dhuy/

/a/ before consonant stays the same, e.g. /ana:ani/ /aSa:aSi/

/a/ before /W/ stays the same but the /W/ drops out, e.g. /caWa: cay/ /paWa:pay/

No change in bisyllabic stems, e.g. /palano:palay/ /khaWano: khaWay/ /dowRono:dowRoy/ /eguno:eguy/

VS-11. /iS/ after a consonant and /S/ after a vowel. Second person familiar. The meaning is alternatively either Tense 1 or Tense 3 for all verbs, e.g. /jodi edike thakiS/ 'if you are in this direction' /tOkhon edike thakiS/ 'then you should be in this direction'. Stem changes as for VS-10.

VS-12. /o/ after a consonant and /W/ after a vowel. Second person ordinary. Tense 3. No stem change except as follows:

In monosyllabic stems:

/e/ before /W/ changes to /a/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /deWa: daW/ /neWa:naW/

/O/ before /W/ stays the same, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /SOWa: SOW/ /hOWa:hOW/

/o/ before /W/ stays the same, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /noWa: noW/ /SoWa:SoW/

/a/ before /W/ stays the same, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /caWa: caW/ /paWa:paW/

In bisyllabic stems, a final /u/ is replaced by /o/, e.g. /eguno:egoW/.

VS-13. /e/ after a consonant and /Y/ after a vowel. /y/ occurs in place of expected /Y/ in the word /cay/ 'somebody wants' in an impersonal clause only. Third person ordinary. Tense 3. Stem changes as for VS-12, except:

/e/ before /W/ changes to /E/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /deWa: dEY/ /neWa:nEY/

VS-14. /en/ after a consonant and /n/ after a vowel. Honorific second or third person. Tense 3. Stem changes as for VS-12.

VS-15. /bo/. First person. Tense 4. Stem changes as for VS-2, except:

/e/ before /W/ may freely vary with /o/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /deWa:debo~dobo/ /neWa:nebo~nobo/

VS-16. /bi/. Second person familiar. Tense 4. Stem changes as for VS-2, except:

/e/ before /W/ changes to /i/, and the /W/ drops out, e.g. /deWa: dibi/ /neWa:nibi/

VS-17, 18. /be/. This is a homonym and means either second person ordinary or third person ordinary. In either case, Tense 4. Stem changes as for VS-2.

VS-19. /ben/. Honorific second or third person. Tense 4. Stem changes as for VS-2.

VS-20. /tam~tum/. The alternants vary freely, though there is some preference for /tam/ in writing and for /tum/ in speech. First person. Tense 5. Stem changes as for VS-3.

VS-21. /tiS/. Second person familiar. Tense 5. Stem changes as for VS-3.

VS-22. /te/. Second person ordinary. Tense 5. Stem changes as for VS-3.

VS-23. /to/. Third person ordinary. Tense 5. Stem changes as for VS-3.

VS-24. /ten/. Honorific second or third person. Tense 5. Stem changes as for VS-3.

VS-25. /lam~lum/. The alternants vary freely, though there is some preference for /lam/ in writing and for /lum/ in speech. First person. Tense 6. Stem changes as for VS-4.

VS-26. /li/. Second person familiar. Tense 6. Stem changes as for VS-4.

VS-27, 28. /le/. This is a homonym and means either second person ordinary, or third person ordinary for individual persons only. In either case, Tense 6. Stem changes as for VS-4.

VS-29. /lo/. Third person ordinary, freely individuals or non-individuals. Tense 6. Stem changes as for VS-4.

VS-30. /len/. Honorific second or third person. Tense 6. Stem changes as for VS-4.

An exception is /jaWa/ 'to go', the forms for which - VS-25 through VS-30 - are /gelam~gelum geli gele gElo gelen/, with a regular stem /ge/ except for an irregular /gE/ for VS-29.

VS-31. /chi/ after a consonant and /cchi/ after a vowel. First person. Tense 7. Stem changes as for VS-3, except:
/a/ before /W/ stays the same, and the /W/ changes to /y/, e.g.
/caWa:caychi/ /gaWa:gaychi/
/a/ before /W/ stays the same, and the /W/ drops out, e.g.
/paWa:pacchi/ /jaWa:jacchi/

VS-32. /chiS/ after a consonant and /cchiS/ after a vowel. Second person familiar. Tense 7. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-33. /cho/ after a consonant and /ccho/ after a vowel. Second person ordinary. Tense 7. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-34. /che/ after a consonant and /cche/ after a vowel. Third person ordinary. Tense 7. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-35. /chen/ after a consonant and /cchen/ after a vowel. Honorific second or third person. Tense 7. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-36. /chilam~chilum/ after a consonant, and /cchilam~cchilum/ after a vowel. The alternants vary freely, though there is some preference for /chilam~cchilam/ in writing and for /chilum~cchilum/ in speech. First person. Tense 8. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-37. /chili/ after a consonant and /cchili/ after a vowel. Second person familiar. Tense 8. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-38. /chile/ after a consonant and /cchile/ after a vowel. Second person ordinary. Tense 8. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-39. /chilo/ after a consonant and /cchilo/ after a vowel. Third person ordinary. Tense 8. Stem changes as for VS-31.

VS-40. /chilen/ after a consonant and /cchilen/ after a vowel. Honorific second or third person. Tense 8. Stem changes as for VS-31.

The remaining ten suffixes may be regarded as compound, with a VS-5 /e/ as the first member. A free variation is possible in the position of the optional emphasizers {i} and {o} such as in /korechoy~koreycho/ 'even if you have done it' /bolecheno~boleWchen/ 'he has just said it'. On this interpretation, the suffixes after VS-5 /e/ in the following are identical with the 26th paradigm verb, with an automatic change of /ach/ into /ch/ for Tense 3. However, one should note the following contrast in Tense 3: /boSeche/ 'he has sat' /boSe ache/ 'he has remained sitting'.

VS-41. /echi/. First person. Tense 9.

VS-42. /echiS/. Second person familiar. Tense 9.

VS-43. /echo/. Second person ordinary. Tense 9.

VS-44. /eche/. Third person ordinary. Tense 9.

VS-45. /echen/. Honorific second or third person. Tense 9.

VS-46. /echilam~echilum/. The alternants vary freely, though there is some preference for the former in writing and for the latter in speech. First person. Tense 10.

VS-47. /echili/. Second person familiar. Tense 10.

VS-48. /echile/. Second person ordinary. Tense 10.

VS-49. /echilo/. Third person ordinary. Tense 10.

VS-50. /echilen/. Honorific second or third person. Tense 10.

An exception is the verb /jaWa/ 'to go' with its stem alternant /gi~g/, so that the forms for VS-41 through VS-50 are /giechi giechiS giecho gieche giechen giechilam~giechilum giechili giechile giechilo giechilen/ or, alternatively, /gechi gechiS gEcho gEche gEchen gechlam~gechlum gechli gechle gechlo gechlen/. Note the irregular suffix modification in the second alternates for VS-43 through VS-50. Further, in normal speed of utterance the consonant sequence /chl/ becomes /sl/.

Another exception is /aSa/ 'to come' for which VS-41 through VS-50 freely keep or lose the suffix initial /e/, e.g. /eSchi~eSechi/ /eSchilen~eSechilen/.

5. NOUN WORDS

A noun word is analyzable into an obligatory stem, followed optionally by an augment, followed optionally by a determiner suffix, followed optionally by a case suffix. The nucleus, i.e. the element which controls external distribution of the word, is always the last element. For this reason, a noun without a case suffix may be also described as having a nominative case suffix manifested by zero.

5.1. Case suffixes.

A case suffix is one of the following:

The genitive: /r/ after vowel, /er/ after vowel other than /i u/ and after semivowel or consonant with a stem final /o/ optionally omitted, /kar/ or /ker/ after a few specific stems. The meaning is reference, possessor or material, 'of, for', e.g. /ramer/ 'of Ram, for Ram' /lohar/ 'of iron' /ajker/ 'of today' /rojkar/ 'of everyday' /mar~maer/ 'of mother, for mother' /gOrtor~gOrter/ 'of the hole' /ramer lekha ucit/ 'for Ram it is desirable to write (Ram should write)'.

The dative: /ke/. The meaning is a particular individual as direct or indirect object, e.g. /ramke Dakun/ 'please call Ram' /ciThiTa ramke/ 'the letter is for Ram' /ramke likhte hocche/ 'it becomes necessary to write to Ram; it becomes necessary for Ram to write' /puliSke Dako/ 'call the one who is a policeman; call the police' [cf. /puliS Dako/ 'call the police'].

The locative: /te/ after vowel or semivowel, /ete/ after consonant, /Y/ after vowel other than /i u/, /e/ after semivowel or consonant. A stem final /y Y/ may optionally drop out, e.g. /boye~boe/ 'in the book' /daYe~dae/ 'in obligation'. The meaning is unspecified and uncounted agent or instrument, transient and accidental location or direction, e.g. /baghe kheeche/ 'some tiger has eaten it' [cf. /bagh kheeche/ 'Tiger has eaten it (Mr. Tiger, that tiger which we know about)'] /puliSe dilo/ 'the police gave it;

he gave it up to the police' /deSe gEche/ 'he has gone home (hometown)' [cf. /baRi gEche/ 'he has gone home (house)'] /Tebile/ 'at the table, on the table' /briSTite/ 'in the rain, by the rain'.

5.2. Determiner suffixes.

A determiner suffix is one of the following:

/Ta/ 'that undivided unit', e.g. /puliSke Dako/ 'call the police' /puliSTake Dako/ 'call that policeman' /gorute kheeche/ 'some cow has eaten it' /goruTate kheeche/ 'that cow has eaten it' /chOY eSeche/ 'the sixth has come' /chOTa eSeche/ 'six have come' /chO gOj/ 'six-yard long unit piece, the six yardsticks in a group' /chOTa gOj/ 'six yard-long unit pieces, six from among many yardsticks' /chOgOjTa/ 'the six-yard long one' /jutoTa bayre thak/ 'the shoes (one unit pair) may remain outside, please' /ramTa/ 'our Ram (that boy we both know so well)' [cf. German 'der Erhard'] /OnekTa/ 'much' /Oneggulo/ 'many' /OnekTa bhalo/ 'largely good' /Onek bhaloTa/ 'the much better one'.

/To/ is an alternant of the above after {duy} 'two' in /duTo/ 'two units'. /Te/ is an alternant of the above after {tin} 'three' and /car/ 'four' and a free variant after any word with final /i/, e.g. /tinTe/ 'three units' /carTe/ 'four units' /cabiTa~cabiTe/ 'the particular key'.

/Ti/ is a diminutive derived from the above, connoting deference to smaller size or more delicate texture.

/Tuk Tuku Tukun Tukuni/ 'the small amount, the tiny bit', e.g. /dudhTuku/ 'that little bit of milk'.

/khana khani/ 'the unit fraction, the flat piece' /gacha gachi/ 'the tall piece' /phala phali/ 'the slice'.

/gulo guli/ 'more than one unit, undivided units in a surveyable group', e.g. /gorugulo rasta aTkeche/ 'those cows there have blocked the road' /chelegulo/ 'those boys'.

{ra} 'all or any of the specific kind or clan or class', which is /ra/ after /i u/ and /ra era/ elsewhere; a stem final /o/ after cluster may optionally be omitted; cannot occur before a case suffix, e.g. /gorura carpee jontu/ 'cows are four-legged animals' /mukhujjera bORolok/ 'the Mukherjis are rich' /bhrittora~bhrittera/ 'the servants'.

/der/ substitutes for {ra + genitive} as well as for {ra + dative}. It cannot occur before any further case suffix, and does not substitute for any hypothetical locative use, e.g. /mukhujjeder Dakun/ 'call the Mukherjis' /Samner baRiTa mukhujjeder/ 'the house in front is the Mukherji's'.

5.3. Augment.

An augment may occur between the stem and the determiner. It is simply the genitive case suffix, and the only reason for calling it an augment is that two case suffixes cannot occur in succession without a determiner in between, e.g. /hatergulor/ 'of those things which are in the hand' /durerTake/ 'to the one in the distance'.

5.4. Stem constituents.

The stem has one or two constituents, which may be called the prenucleus and the nucleus. It is never the case in Bengali that both the immediate constituents are lexically bound elements, i.e. less than free words, or that the number of immediate constituents is more than two. The simplest cases are therefore shown by such examples as /deS/ 'country, own country' /bideS/ 'abroad' /deSi/ 'native'.

5.4.1. A free lexical word may occur in either or both positions. In the latter case, one may speak of compounds, e.g. /phransdeS/ 'the country France'. The grammar of compounds and that of phrases cannot be distinguished for Bengali, and the presence or absence of intervening space in writing or printing is a matter of fashion, which is currently in favor of space.

5.4.2. A derivational morphology of the Bengali noun is possible only in the sense of listing bound elements, specifying for each its predilection toward being a prenucleus or being a nucleus within a noun stem. The former may be called noun prefixes and the latter noun suffixes.

5.4.3. Common prefixes are of two types: those most often used with non-Sanskrit words, and those most often used with Sanskrit words. The former occur in only a few words:

/a/ 'un-', e.g. /abacha/ 'unsorted' /agacha/ 'weed (unwanted vegetation)'.

/be/ 'wrong, without, un-', e.g. /bedOrodi/ 'unsympathetic' /becara/ 'one without power of redress' /bejat/ 'of a different caste'

/na/ 'un-', e.g. /namonjur/ 'rejected' /napOchondo/ 'disapproved'

/ni/ 'without', e.g. /nipaT/ 'without a fold' /nirog/ 'without disease'

/SO/ 'same, with', e.g. /SOjat/ 'of the same caste'

/do/ 'two', e. g. /dotOla/ 'two-story (house), the first floor' /dodOma/ 'two-bang (rocket)'

/te/ 'three', e.g. /tetOla/ 'three-story (house), the second floor'

/cow/ 'four', e.g. /cowrasta/ 'a four-way street intersection'

5.4.4. A complete list of prefixes capable of occurring before Sanskrit words would be too long to include here. These may serve as a sample:

/O/ 'un-', e.g. /Ojat/ 'of an unknown caste'

/On/ 'un-', e.g. /Oniccha/ 'disinclination'

/Onoti/ 'not overmuch', e.g. /OnotiSitoSno/ 'temperate in climate (not overmuch cold or heat)'

/Su/ 'well-', e.g. /SubeS/ 'well-dressed'

5.4.5. Noun suffixes also are usefully divided into those capable of occurring only after non-Sanskrit words, and those less restricted. Of the former, a subdivision is between those which turn a verb stem into a noun stem, and those which occur only after a noun stem.

The following occur after a non-Sanskrit verb stem:

No suffix, or zero, e.g. /cal/ 'style (mode of riding or driving)' /bhul/ 'error, lapse' /cOl/ 'currency'

/on/, e.g. /cOlon/ 'mode of movement' /pOron/ 'the state of wearing some garment'

/an/, e.g. /calan/ 'onward despatch, supply' /janan/ 'notice'

/onto/, e.g. /cOlonto/ '(in the state of) moving'

/ot/, e.g. /pOrot/ 'layer' /janot/ 'range of knowing'

{i i}, e.g. /coli coli/ 'about to move' /calay calay/'about to drive' {o o}, e.g. /kaMdo kaMdo/ 'about to weep'

{u u}, e.g. /Dhulu Dhulu/ 'about to fall down (eyelids)'

5.4.6. Those which occur after non-Sanskrit noun stems are best summarized here in the form of a chart with four successive positions of the internal constituents, all optional:

Positions:	1	2	3	4
Fillers:	i	e	m	i
	u	a	n	u
	o		l	o
			R	e
			r	a
			T	
			t	
			S	
			c	
			k	

Some examples are the following: /hatol/ {+o + l} 'a handle' /nacie/ {+i + e} 'a dancer' /kOttamo/ {+m + o} 'bossiness' /baRioala/ {+o + a + l + a} 'landlord' /Dhakna/ {+n + a} 'cover for utensil' /lalce/ {+c + e} 'reddish'.

Stem alternation occurs before these suffixes but shows no patterns additional to those surveyed for verb words, and in too irregular a manner to completely describe here. A few examples should suffice: /bon/ 'forest': /buno/ 'wild'; /tel/ 'oil': /tili/ 'oilman'; /bali/ 'sand': /bele/ 'sandy'; /moT/ 'total, luggage': /muTe/ 'porter'; /pich~pach/ 'backwards'; /dORa/ 'thick rope': /doRi/ 'thin rope'; /pherta~phirti/ 'on the way back'; /pEMTra/ 'large basket trunk': /peMTri/ 'small basket trunk'; /chEbla~chible/ 'facetious'; /bacca/ 'baby': /baccu/ 'small baby (a common nickname)'; /baMdor/ 'monkey': /baMdramo/ 'monkeying'; /Samal/ 'control, mastery': /Samlano/ 'to cope with, to face up to'.

The meanings of these suffixes are vague, but the following generalizations seem to have some validity. Position 4 fillers frequently have these meanings: /i/ a feminine or an agent or a diminutive; /u/ a diminutive; /e o a/ bigness, crudeness or masculinity. Position 3 fillers all indicate some kind of association by resemblance or, less often, by contiguity. Nothing general may be said about position 2 or position 1 fillers.

5.4.7 The less restricted suffixes make an even longer and indeed a growing list and can only be sampled here:

/pOna/ 'behavior like, skill as', e.g. /ginnipOna/ 'the art of a housewife'

/giri/ 'vocation', e.g. /goendagiri/ 'the vocation of a spy'

/ta/ 'the quality of, -ness', e.g. /bondhuta/ 'friendship' /SOtota/ 'honesty' {SOt +}

/tto/, e.g. /bondhutto/ 'friendship' /mOhaSoyotto/ 'gentlemanliness' {mOhaSOY +}

/mOY/ 'full of', e.g. /jOlmOY~jOlomOY/ 'full of water'

/ikOron/ '-ification', e.g. /durikOron/ 'removal'

/ikrito/ '-ified', e.g. /durikrito/ 'removed'

/ibhObon/ '-ation', e.g. /duribhObon/ 'going away, going off'

/ibhuto/ '-ated', e.g. /duribhuto/ 'away, off'

/bad/ '-ism', e.g. /marksbad/ 'Marxism' /brammobad/ 'Brahmoism' {brammo +} /bhabobad/ 'mentalism' {bhab +}

/alOY/ 'place of', e.g. /himalOY/ 'the Himalaya (place of snow)' /karjalOY/ 'office (place of work)' {karjo +}

Stem alternations for these suffixes are most commonly of these types:

A vowel /o/ may be added after a semivowel or consonant if the stem is a Sanskrit word, e.g. /bhabobad/ 'mentalism', from /bhab/ 'mood'.

A stem final /o/ may be dropped, e.g. /karjalOY/ 'office', from /karjo/ 'work'.

A stem final /Y/ may be dropped, e.g. /ubhOcOr/ 'amphibian', from /ubhOY/ 'both'.

5.5. New words.

New words added to the lexicon are usually nouns, if not in origin then by adoption. The primary source for these is Sanskrit. A more detailed study of the internal structure of the learned words in Bengali is thus practically the same thing as a study of

Sanskrit noun derivation and composition. It is advisable for any student of Bengali to keep within reach a good grammar of Sanskrit.

Two important changes are undergone by Sanskrit words as these are assimilated into Bengali. The final visarga or anusvara is dropped, e.g. /griho/ 'house' /phOl/ 'fruit'; and sex concord is only rarely observed, e.g. /mulloban obhiggoMta/ 'valuable experience' /protibhaSali mee/ 'talented girl'.

An increasing number of learned or semi-learned words are now being borrowed from English. The internal structure of these is part of English grammar. There is noticeable in these borrowings a tendency to omit the more easily recognizable formative suffixes and distributional restrictions of English, e.g. /ilekTrik ache/ 'there is electricity' /phOrener ciThi/ 'a letter from a foreign country' /DEmpe nOSTo/ 'spoiled by the damp' /pEnT/ 'pants' /silekT hoeche/ 'has been selected' /rijain dilo/ 'gave resignation' /biwTiphul boleche/ 'has spoken beautifully' /amar egensTe/ 'against me' /apnar phOre/ 'in your favor'.

6. AUXILIARY WORDS

Auxiliaries are formally nouns and verbs, but show unusually restricted distribution and specialized meaning.

6.1. Connectives.

Connectives occur only as unexpandable link words, e.g. /OboSSo'uni aSen ni/ 'though, he has not come' /uni OboSSo 'aSen ni/ 'he has not come, though' /uni 'aSen ni OboSSo/ 'he has not come, though'; or as included in the predicate phrase, e.g. /uni 'OboSSo aSen ni/ 'he has certainly not come'.

Common connectives are: /SutoraN/ 'therefore' /tObe/ 'all the same' /kintu/ 'but' /na hole/ or /nale/ 'otherwise' /ar/ 'further' /jate/ 'so that' /pache/ 'lest' /tay/ 'that's why, so, thus' /tobu/ 'even so'.

6.2. Limitives.

Limitives occur only as prenuclei within a noun or verb phrase, e.g. /guTi duy ruTi/ 'about two pieces of bread' /guTi duy ruTi khele/ 'when two pieces of bread or so are eaten'.

Common limitives are: /Soa~SO/ 'one and a quarter unit' /SaRe/ 'more by a half unit' /powne/ 'less by a quarter unit' /kon/ 'which, any' /goTa~guTi/ 'unfragmented unit'.

6.3. Negatives.

/na/ occurs as a noun, e.g. /uni na bolechen/ 'he has said, no' /na hOY na hObe/ 'if that does not happen, that will not happen (need not be desired to happen)' /na hole/ 'if that is not the case...'.

/na/ occurs after the finite verb to negate it, except for Tenses 1, 9, and 10, e.g. /jabo na/ 'I shall/will not go' /hocche na/ 'it is not taking place'.

Negative counterparts for Tense 1 consist of Tense 2 or Tense 4 forms with /na/, e.g. /jan/ 'you go!' /jaben na/ 'don't go!' /kOro/ 'you do it!' /koro na/ 'don't do it!'

/ne/ is an alternant of the above after a finite verb when the verbal suffix ends in /i/ or /y/, e.g. /jabi na ~ jabi ne/ 'you won't go' /cay na ~ cay ne/ 'I do not want it; it is not wanted'.

/ni/ occurs after a finite verb in Tense 3 for the negation of finite verbs in Tense 9 or Tense 10 for all persons, e.g. /korechi/ 'I have done it' /korechilam/ 'I had done it' /kori ni/ 'I have not done it; I had not done it'.

/ney/ negates /ach/ for all persons in Tense 3, e.g. /uni achen/ 'he is there': /uni ney/ 'he is not there'; /ami achi/ 'I am there': /ami ney/ 'I am not there'; /bhalo ney/ 'is not well'; /uni ukil ney/ 'he is no longer a lawyer'.

/nO/ 'to be not that' is a verb stem with the following forms, all in Tense 3, and all replaceable in the same function by the word /na/: first person /noy/, second familiar /noS/, second ordinary /nOW/, third ordinary /nOY/, second or third honorific /nOn/, e.g. /uni ukil nOn/ 'he is not a lawyer' /bhalo nOY/ 'is not good'.

6.4. Directives.

Directives occur as bound nuclei, i.e. nuclei occurring after a prenucleus within a phrase. They are the closest equivalents in meaning to the prepositions of English, e.g. /gOla porjonto jOl/ 'water up to the neck' /gOla die nambe na/ 'will not go down the throat'. The list is large and only a sample is given here. The following subclasses may be noticed:

6.4.1. Caseless noun nucleus.

With immediate prenucleus caseless: /porjonto/ 'up to' /proti/ 'per' /matro/ 'only' /namok/ 'by name of'.

With immediate prenucleus in the genitive case: /moto/ or /moton/ 'like' /SOman/ 'equal to' /dorun/ 'because of' /proti/ 'towards' /dara/ 'through, by'.

With immediate prenucleus in the dative or locative case: /chaRa/ 'without'.

6.4.2. Genitive noun nucleus.

With immediate prenucleus caseless: /gocher/ 'of the same kind as'.

6.4.3. Locative noun nucleus.

With immediate prenucleus caseless: /rupe/ 'in the form of' /bhabe/ 'in the manner of' /SOmmondhe/ 'about'.

With immediate prenucleus in the genitive case: /name/ 'in the name of' /khatire/ 'for the sake of' /jonne/ 'because of' /SONge/ 'with' /SOmmondhe/ 'about'.

6.4.4. Conjunctive verb nucleus.

With immediate prenucleus caseless: /hoe/ 'via' /bole/ 'by name of, because of' /die/ 'through' /nie/ 'including'.

With immediate prenucleus in the genitive case: /theke/ 'from' /cee/ 'than' /gheMSe/ 'along' /die/ 'through'.

With immediate prenucleus in the locative case: /kore/ 'by, in, as instrument or container'.

6.5. Aspectives.

Aspectives are verbs which occur as nuclei normally after prenuclei and indicate a specific manner of execution of the action indicated by the immediate prenucleus. Each aspective is a homonym of an independent verb. In the lists, those marked with asterisk (*) occur only in impersonal clause predicate nucleus. The following subclasses are distinguished:

6.5.1. Conditional as prenucleus.

/para/ 'could as well', e.g. /korle partam/ 'I could as well have done'.

*/cOla/ 'might allowably', e.g. /korle colbe/ 'it will be passable to do it'

*/hOWa/ 'might desirably', e.g. /hole hOY/ 'it might as well be it'

6.5.2. Durative as prenucleus.

/jaWa/ 'try to do it', e.g. /khete jacchi/ 'I am going on to eat'

/cOla/ 'move towards doing it' /bOSa/ 'prepare to do it' /paWa/ 'be allowed to do it' /caWa/ 'wish to do it' /thaka/ 'continue doing it' /deWa/ 'let someone do it' /neWa/ 'take it upon oneself to do it' */hOWa/ 'be necessary to do it' */ach/ 'be in the fitness of things to do it'

6.5.3. Conjunctive as prenucleus.

/jaWa/ 'proceed to completion', e.g. /khee jay/ 'I proceed in eating'

/aSa/ 'continue as a habit' /cOla/ 'move ahead with it' /tola/ 'build up into' /oTha/ 'break forth with it, cope with it' /phEla/ 'burst out with it' /bOSa/ 'do it rashly' /dEkha/ 'test it out' /dEkhano/ 'demonstrate how to do it' /ana/ 'bring it near completion' /Sara/ 'bring it to the end' /pORa/ 'do it without leaving it halfdone' /rakha/ 'keep it finished and ready' /deWa/ 'do it to help someone else' /neWa/ 'do it to help oneself' /bERano/ 'go around doing it' /baMca/ 'be relieved to do it' /mOra/ 'ruin oneself by doing it' /rOWa/ 'let rest after finishing it' /thaka/ 'to do it habitually'

6.5.4. Nominal verb as prenucleus.

*/jaWa/ 'it can be done', e.g. /jana jaY/ 'it can be known'

*/cOla/ 'it is allowable to do it' */hOWa/ 'it is customary to do it' /thaka/ 'it is done and held ready'

6.5.5. Finite verb as prenucleus.

/bOla/ 'to say that...', e.g. /jacchi bolechi/ 'I have said that I will go'

/janano/ 'to inform that...' /kOra/ 'to appear as if...'

6.5.6. Genitive nominal verbs as prenucleus.

/ach/ 'to be there', e.g. /kOrar chilo/ 'there was to be done'

/thaka/ 'to be there as a rule'

6.5.7. Caseless (or nominative) noun as prenucleus. This class merges gradually into that of the independent verbs. But these are still strikingly different from homonymous independent verbs:

/kOra/ 'to perform, to demonstrate', e.g. /EsiDiphay korechilam/ 'I had acidified it'

/hOWa/ 'to become, to happen, to show up as' /jana/ 'to know as' /cena/ 'to recognize as' /dhOra/ 'to let out to the public (as)' /deWa/ 'to allocate' /mara/ 'to make a strike with' /khaWa/ 'to be subjected to a strike of' /choTa/ 'to come apart' /paRano/

'to induce' /baSa/ 'to feel towards someone' /bOSa/ 'to solemnize' /gala/ 'to concede' /paRa/ 'to shout'

The last six occur with very few prenuclei and should preferably be learnt as idioms, e.g. /bhalo baSa/ 'to love (to feel well to)' /ghum paRano/ 'to put to sleep'

6.6. Demonstratives.

Demonstratives are equivalent to the pronouns of English, but with these differences: They do not distinguish sex or animation, and they may occur as nuclei after prenuclei, e.g. /caTujjeder e/ 'this one of (the clan of) the Chatterjis' /apni nil ogulo nie jan/ 'you please take with you those blue ones over there'.

{e} and its derivatives, such as /e ekhan ekhane ebar edik erOkom~erom emni Emon Eto Ekhon.../, indicate 'this, here, now'.

{o} and its derivatives, such as /o okhan okhane obar odik orOkom~orom omni Omon Oto Okhon.../, indicate 'yonder, that over there'.

{je} and its derivatives, such as /je ja jekhan jekhane jebar jedik jerOkom~jerom jemni jEmon jOto jOkhon.../, indicate 'that particular', that about which something more is expected to be said.

{Se} and its derivatives, such as /Se ta Sekhan Sekhane Sebar Sedik SerOkom~Serom temni tEmon tOto tOkhon.../, indicate 'that very', that about which something has already been said.

{ke} and its derivatives, such as /ke ki konkhan konkhane konbar kondik konrOkom kirOkom~kirom kemni kEmon kOto kOkhon kotha kothaY.../, if obligatorily without extra stress or higher pitch, indicate 'some', an indefinite unspecified identity or measure or manner.

{ke} and its derivatives, the same as above except for an obligatory extra stress or higher pitch anywhere within the word, indicate a query, an interrogative.

/ie/ is Bengali for '...um...', 'what's his name?' or 'what do you call it?', e.g. /ieTa din na/ 'please give me that what's its name'.

6.7. Specifiers.

Specifiers occur either as prenuclei in any phrase or as nuclei as a frame element in clause, e.g. /uni nije elen/ 'he came there himself' /ami nije jabo/ 'I will go there myself'.

Common specifiers are: /SOb/ 'all' /SOkol/ 'all' /prottek/ 'every' /ubhOY/ 'both' /Onek/ 'many'.

The following have different forms when prenucleus and when nucleus. Prenucleus: /nijo nijer/; nucleus: /nije/. Prenucleus: /apna apnar/; nucleus: /apni/. Both mean 'by oneself, of oneself'. Prenucleus: /Sobar~SObaykar/; nucleus: /SObay/ 'everybody'.

6.8. Personal pronouns.

Personal pronouns may occur in a phrase as nucleus after prenucleus; they do not distinguish sex. There are two numbers and one to three ranks.

/ami/ and its derivatives refer to the speaker. /ami/ 'I', and /amra/ 'we', both used only as nucleus; /amake/ is singular dative; /amar/ is singular genitive; /amader/ is plural, freely dative or genitive; /amate/ is singular locative, and means 'between me and...'; /amaY/ is singular, freely dative or locative.

/tuy/ and its derivatives refer to the hearer, with the implication of either a very much inferior rank of the hearer in comparison to the speaker or vice versa, or a personal intimacy with the speaker dating from a period in which both shared a very much inferior rank. Rank is correlated mainly to social status, subsidiarily to age. It is not recommended that any foreigner should ever use this pronoun. /tuy/ is singular and /tora/ is plural, both used only as nucleus; /toke/ is singular dative; /tor/ is singular genitive; /toder/ is plural, freely dative or genitive; /tote/ is singular locative, 'between you and...'.

/tumi/ and its derivatives refer to the hearer, with an implication quite similar to /tuy/ but of lesser intensity. It is customarily used between husband and wife, parent and child, classmates below the graduate level, etc. /tumi/ is singular and /tomra/ is plural, both used only as nucleus; /tomake/ is singular dative; /tomar/ is singular genitive; /tomader/ is plural, freely dative or genitive; /tomate/ is singular, freely dative or locative.

/apni/ and its derivatives refer to the hearer, with implication of either a rather superior social rank of the hearer without reference to the rank of the speaker, or a lack of personal intimacy with the speaker dating from any early biographical period. /apni/ is singular and /apnara/ is plural; /apnake/ is singular dative; /apnar/ is singular genitive; /apnader/ is plural, freely dative or genitive; /apnate/ is singular locative, 'between you and...'; /apnaY/ is singular, freely dative or locative.

/ini/ and its derivatives refer to someone other than either the speaker or the hearer, with implication of either rather superior social rank or a lack of intimacy of the third person in relation to the hearer, without regard to the relationship of the third person to the speaker. A wife customarily uses /tumi/ to her husband, but /e/ about him only if the hearer is entitled to use /tumi/ to him, otherwise /ini/. The derivatives are /eMra eMke eMr eMder eMte/.

/uni/ and its derivatives refer to the third person in an analogous way, with the added implication that the mentioned person is over there, yonder. The derivatives are /oMra oMke oMr oMder oMte/.

/jini/ and its derivatives refer to the third person, as about whom something more is still to be said. The derivatives are /jaMra jaMke jaMr jaMder jaMte/.

/tini/ and its derivatives refer to the third person, as about whom something has already been said. The derivatives are /taMra taMke taMr taMder taMte/.

/e/ and its derivatives differ in use from /ini/ only by limitation to those of lesser rank or greater intimacy to the hearer. The derivatives are /era eke er eder ete/.

/o/ and its derivatives differ in use from /uni/ only by limitation to those of lesser rank or greater intimacy to the hearer. The derivatives are /ora oke or oder ote/.

/je/ and its derivatives differ in use from /jini/ only by limitation to those of lesser rank or greater intimacy to the hearer. The derivatives are /jara jake jar jader jate/.

/Se/ and its derivatives differ in use from /tini/ only by limitation to those of lesser rank or greater intimacy to the hearer. The derivatives are /tara take tar tader tate/.

/omuk/ means 'so and so over there', a deliberately unnamed person.

/tomuk/ means 'so and so as previously mentioned'.

/ke/ and its derivatives refer, if stressed or higher in pitch, to an interrogation, and if unstressed or lower in pitch, to an unidentified somebody of any rank, whether speaker or hearer or other. The derivatives are /kara kake kar kader kate/.

/kew/ and its derivatives refer to some unspecified person or persons. The derivatives are /kawke~karuke/ for the dative, and /karo~karu~karur/ for the genitive.

6.9. Numerals.

6.9.1. Examples of the cardinal numerals are given below. Two special ones are /deR/ 'one and a half' and /aRay/ 'two and a half'.

1 =	/Ek/
2	/duy/
3	/tin/
4	/car/
5	/paMc/
6	/chOY/
7	/Sat/
8	/aT/
9	/nOY/
10	/dOS/
11	/Egaro/
12	/baro/
13	/tEro/
14	/coddo/
15	/ponero/
16	/Solo/
17	/SOtero/
18	/aThero/
19	/uniS/
20	/kuRi~biS/
21	/EkuS/
22	/baiS/
23	/teiS/
24	/cobbiS/
25	/poMciS/
26	/chabbiS/
27	/SataS/
28	/aTaS/
29	/untriS/
30	/triS/
31	/ektriS/
32	/botriS/
33	/tetriS/
34	/cowtriS/
35	/poMytriS/
36	/chotriS/
37	/SaMytriS/
38	/aTtriS/
39	/unocolliS/
40	/colliS/
41	/ekcolliS/
42	/bialliS/
43	/tetalliS/
44	/cualliS/
45	/pOMYtalliS/

46 =	/checolliS/
47	/SaccolliS/
48	/aTcolliS/
49	/unopOncaS/
50	/pOncaS/
51	/Ekanno/
52	/bahanno/
53	/teppanno/
54	/cuanno/
55	/pOncanno/
56	/chappano/
57	/Satanno/
58	/aTanno/
59	/unoSaT/
60	/SaT/
61	/ekSoTTi/
62	/baSoTTi/
63	/teSoTTi/
64	/cowSoTTi/
65	/poMySoTTi/
66	/cheSoTTi/
67	/SatSoTTi/
68	/aTSoTTi/
69	/unoSottor/
70	/Sottor/
71	/Ekattor/
72	/bahattor/
73	/teattor
74	/cuattor/
75	/pOMcattor/
76	/cheattor/
77	/Satattor/
78	/aTattor/
79	/unaSi/
80	/aSi/
81	/EkaSi/
82	/biraSi/
83	/tiraSi/
84	/curaSi/
85	/pOMcaSi/
86	/cheaSi/
87	/SataSi/
88	/aTaSi/
89	/unonobboy/
90	/nobboy/
91	/Ekanobboy/
92	/biranobboy/
93	/tiranobboy/
94	/curanobboy/
95	/pOMcanobboy/
96	/cheanobboy/
97	/Satanobboy/
98	/aTanobboy/
99	/niranobboy/
100	/Ek So/
101	/EkSo Ek/
102	/EkSo duy/
103	/EkSo tin/
115	/EkSo ponero/
120	/EkSo kuRi/
121	/EkSo EkuS/
122	/EkSo baiS/
130	/EkSo triS/
150	/EkSo pOncaS/

Some of the cardinals are often used to indicate rather vague numbers, e.g. /Ek/ 'some' /duy/ 'a very few' /car/ 'a few' /paMc/ 'many' /Sat/ 'so many' /dOS/ 'many' /baro/ 'all' /tEro/ 'that many' /SOtero/ 'so very many' /pOncaS/ 'very many'.

Many of the higher cardinal numerals have several freely variant shapes, e.g. /tippanno~teppanno~tianno~teanno/ 'fifty-three' /curanobboy~curanobbuy~curonobbuy/ 'ninety-four'.

6.9.2. The ordinals come in various lexical sets. The popular series is built by adding the genitive case augment to the cardinal: /Eker duer tiner carer paMcer.../.

Or, also by adding a measure: /EknOmbor dunOmbor tinnOmbor carnOmbor paMcnOmbor.../ or /Egbar dubar tinbar carbar paMjbar.../.

The ordinal series from Sanskrit is used fairly often: /prothom ditio tritio coturtho pOncom SOSTho SOptom OSTom nObom dOSom EkadOS dadOS troYodOS coturdOS pOncodOS SoROS SOptodOS OSTadOS unobiNSO biNSO ekobiNSO dabiNSO troYobiNSO.../.'

The cardinal series from Sanskrit is used in learned formations as ordinals: /eko di tri cotur pOnco.../.

For the days of the month only, the following series is used: /pOYla doSra teSra cowTha paMcoy chOoy Satoy ... uniSe biSe ekuSe baiSe ... botriSe/.

Another set of ordinal series is shown by the following examples: /tin barer bar/ 'the third time' /car diner din/ 'the fourth day' /Sat bhager bhag/ 'the seventh portion'.

The common cardinals may also be used as ordinals, only in their full forms wherever there is a contrast with the short forms, e.g. /chOYTa/ 'the number six, the sixth one' /chOTa/ 'six units' /Eker tin/ 'third of one'.

6.9.3. Fractions are read as follows: /Eker tin/ 'one-third' /paMcer Sat/ 'five-sevenths' /Sat purno duer paMc/ 'seven and two-fifths'.

/tin bhager Ek/ 'one-third' /Sat bhager paMc/ 'five-sevenths' /Sat purno paMc bhager duy/ 'seven and two-fifths'.

/Ek tritiaNSo/ 'one-third' /paMc SOptaNSo/ 'five-sevenths' /Sat purno duy pOncomaNSo/ 'seven and two-fifths'.

6.9.4. Multiples are read as follows:

/Sat tine ekuS/ 'seven by three is twenty-one' /car paMce kuRi/ 'four by five is twenty'.

/Sat tin gune ekuS/ 'seven multiplied by three is twenty-one' /car paMc gune kuRi/ 'four multiplied by five is twenty'.

6.10. Measures.

The contrast between the presence and the absence of a measure is shown by: /Ek raja/ 'a certain king': /Egjon raja/ 'one king'; /tin bhay/ 'the three brothers, the three-brother group': /tinTi bhay/ 'three of the brothers (three specimens of the kind)'.

There is also a contrast between their placement relative to the numeral, e.g. /du gOj kapoR/ 'two yards of cloth':

/gOj duy kapoR/ 'about two yards of cloth'. The quantity becomes vague and approximate if any numeral is in the nucleus position.

Common measures are: /Ta Te Ti/ 'undivided unit' /khan/ 'flat piece' /gach/ 'tall piece' /bar/ 'time, occasion' /gun/ 'multiple' /bhag/ 'fraction' /dOpha/ 'installment' /jon/ 'individual person' /Tukro/ 'broken-off bit' /dOl/ 'gang, group' /rOkom/ 'sort' /prostho/ 'suit' /joRa/ 'pair'. The limitive /goTa/ and the determiner /Ta/ may be considered alternants of a single measure word; similarly /guTi/ and /Ti/.

6.11. Phonesthetics.

There are a large number of stems in the language for which the minimal meaningful units are phonological elements of a level lesser than that of either phoneme sequences or single phonemes. In formal structure, most of these occur in larger sequences in the role of nouns. A few are noun-derived verbs, obligatorily with VS-5 or an aspective auxiliary plus any verbal suffix. A detailed analysis of these would take up too much space here. These are not examples of onomatopoeia, as for instance /DhON DhON/ 'sound of a large bell' or /ta ta dhin ta/ 'dance steps'. The problem here is that the meanings are general esthetic qualities not easily translatable into English. For example, /kET kET/ may describe the irritatingness of a rough blanket, or of an angry look, or of an unwanted somebody knocking at the door, or of a sarcastic remark; /dOp/ may mean equally well a flare-up, a sudden quenching, a bold footfall, a strong pulse beat.

6.12. Interjections.

Interjections occur usually only as complete sentences or as quoted nouns, e.g. /jah/ 'out!' /bah/ 'bravo!' /uh/ 'oh!' /dhut/ 'hang it!'.

6.13. Conjunctions.

Conjunctions occur in phrase types mentioned in 7.6.1.2.-3. /hOY/ 'perhaps' /nOY/ 'else, otherwise' /na/ 'not, neither, nor' /ki/ 'whether, or'.

6.14. Emphasizers.

Emphasizers occur in phrase types mentioned in 7.2.1.

{i}, which is /i/ after a consonant or semivowel or, optionally, after a vowel, and /y/ after a vowel. It indicates exclusion of alternative possibilities, 'just that, and no other'.

{o}, which is /o/ after a consonant or semivowel or, optionally, after a vowel, and /W/ after a vowel. It indicates inclusion of the preceding word as something that will complete or conclude a series of alternatives, 'even that, also that, that too'.

/Ta/ may sometimes occur as an emphasizer after an included clause only. But the alternants /Te To Ti/ do not occur in this function, e.g. /apni jabenTa kEno/ 'why is it that you will go?' as contrasted with /apni jaben kEno/ 'why will you go?'.

6.15. Injunctives.

Injunctives occur only after a finite verb, and may be regarded as a subclass of emphasizers.

/gie~ge/ has a sense of reconciliation, e.g. /jak ge/ or /jagge/ 'let it go, let him go' /jay ge/ 'let me go'.

/eSe~Se/ has a sense of insistence, e.g. /dekhun Se/ 'please do see it'.

/dekhi~diki/ has a sense of experimentation, e.g. /jan diki/ 'why don't you let us see what happens if you go?'.

6.16. Invocatives.

Invocatives emphasize that someone is being called.

/go/ is used for such persons as may be addressed /tumi/, e.g. /o go/ 'Honey!'.

/re/ is used only for such persons as may be addressed /tuy/, e.g. /ki re/ 'what is it?'.

6.17. Modulators.

Modulators occur in phrase types mentioned in 7.2.2.

/je/ announces a state of affairs that has been or will be described or explained, e.g. /ami ekhane thagbo je/ 'but I will stay here!'.

/to/ raises or answers a doubt, e.g. /ami to ekhane thagbo/ 'I will indeed stay here; will I indeed stay here?'.

/ki/ asks a question, e.g. /ami ekhane ki thagbo/ 'will I stay here?; whether I stay here...'.

AUXILIARY WORDS

/na/ expresses an allegation, e.g. /ami na ekhane thagbo/ 'am I not supposed to stay here?'.

/ba/ challenges the relevance, e.g. /ami ekhane thagbo ba/ 'what if I stay here?; if I stay here at all...'.

/bole/ mentions an expectation, e.g. /ami bole ekhane thagbo/ 'is not it expected that I will stay here?'.

/bujhi~buji/ queries a supposition, e.g. /ami ekhane buji thagbo/ 'I suppose that I am to stay here?'.

Rather rarely, a modulator may alone constitute an immediate element in clause, e.g. /amader pitamOho 'bromma = to+'manuS nOn =/ 'but our grandfather Brahma is not human!'.

A modulator is distinguished from homonymous words of other classes, e.g. the modulator /na/ from the negative /na/, by the fact that a modulator cannot be stressed unless alone in a contour, e.g. /ami na 'jabo/ or /ami jabo 'na/ 'isn't it that I shall go?' but /ami 'jabo na/ 'I shall not go...' /ami jodi 'na jabo/ 'if I am not to go...'.

7. PHRASE STRUCTURE

A phrase substitutes for a stem in a noun or a verb word, and is characterized by the occurrence of words as the nonnuclear immediate constituent elements within the phrase as stem. Phrases may often be complex, in that one phrase may contain another phrase as one or more of the immediate elements. The following classification is based on the type of linkage between the successive elements in a phrase.

7.1. Subordinate phrases.

The external distribution of the subordinate phrase is controlled by the final included element, which may be called the phrase nucleus, preceded by the phrase prenucleus. The following subtypes occur:

7.1.1. Noun, with any suffix, as nucleus.

7.1.1.1. Caseless noun as prenucleus. This has the meaning of a specification out of a general class indicated by the nucleus, e.g. /kO babu/ 'Mr. A.' /Se deS/ 'that very country' /car hajar/ 'four thousand' /gopal maSTar/ 'Teacher Gopal' /khub bhalo/ 'very good' /khub lekhok/ 'very much of a writer' /lal phul/ 'red flowers' /beSi bhalo/ 'better' /aro bhalo/ 'still better'.

7.1.1.2. Finite verb as prenucleus. In meaning this is a subtype of 7.1.1.1., e.g. /aSche kal/ 'tomorrow (the which is coming day)' /eSechi SOmoY/ 'the time when I shall have (I had) come'.

7.1.1.3. Locative noun as prenucleus. This means a place or an instrument for the thing or the action indicated by the nucleus, e.g. /aMdhare jhaMp/ 'a leap in the dark' /mathaY pagRi/ 'a turban on the head' /hate bona/ 'handwoven' /nile nil/ 'quite blue (blue on blue)'.

7.1.1.4. Genitive noun as prenucleus. This means a reference, origin or a beneficiary for what is indicated by the nucleus, e.g. /gorur gaRi/ 'ox-cart' /kajer kOtha/ 'a serious proposition (work-for word)' /lohar caka/ 'an iron wheel' /bolbar kOtha/ 'the things to say' /kOrar kaj/ 'the work to be done'.

7.1.1.5. Dative noun as prenucleus. This means an exceptional unit of counting the mass indicated by the nucleus, e.g. /gramke gram/ 'entire villages (villages counted by villages)' /ramke ram/ 'even (such an exceptional person as) Ram'.

7.1.1.6. Nonfinite verb as prenucleus, e.g. /dekhte bhOdrolok/ 'a gentleman by appearance (to see)' /korle bhalo/ 'good if done'.

7.1.1.7. Negative as prenucleus. This implies conditionality, e.g. /na ram/ 'not even Ram' /na bhalo/ 'if not good' /na SOmbhob/ 'when not possible'.

7.1.2. Verb, with any suffix, as nucleus.

7.1.2.1. Conditional as prenucleus. This specifies a proposal, e.g. /gele cOle/ 'it is allowable to go' /korle paren/ 'you might as well do it'.

7.1.2.2. Durative as prenucleus. This provides an explanation, e.g. /khete gEchen/ 'has gone out to eat' /korte nebo/ 'I will take it upon myself to do it'.

7.1.2.3. Conjunctive as prenucleus. This names an activity, the manner of executing which is indicated by the nucleus, e.g. /kore daW/ 'you help by doing it' /bole phello/ 'he blurted out'.

7.1.2.4. Nominal as prenucleus. This specifies a potentiality, e.g. /neWa hOY/ 'it is customary to take it' /SoWa jabe/ 'it will be possible to lie down'.

7.1.2.5. Caseless noun as prenucleus. This is a mere technique for creating new verbs in the language, e.g. /Teligram kOra/ 'to send a telegram' /nimontron hOben/ 'he will be invited' /lup marche/ 'is making loops' /khub boleche/ 'has spoken very much, very often'.

7.1.2.6. Finite verb as prenucleus. In meaning this is a subtype of 7.1.2.5., and is frequently the equivalent of a 'that...' clause of English, e.g. /jabo bolechi/ 'I have said that I will go' /jacchi janabo/ 'I will notify that I am going there'.

7.1.2.7. Locative noun as prenucleus, e.g. /pOthe boSlo/ 'was ruined (sat on the street)' /hate kaTbe/ 'will wreak vengeance (cut up with bare hands)'.

7.1.2.8. Genitive noun as prenucleus, e.g. /nijer dEkha/ 'to look after one's own, to look upon as one's own' /hater phele jhoper dhOra/ 'to throw away what is in hand in order to catch what is in the bush'.

7.1.2.9. Negative as prenucleus. This implies conditionality, e.g. /na eSeche/ 'if he has not come' /na aSe/ 'if he does not come' /na aSbe/ 'if he will not come' /na aSte/ 'when he did not come' /na aSto/ 'if he did not use to come'.

7.2. Superordinate phrases.

The external distribution of the superordinate phrase is controlled by the initial included element, which may still be called the nucleus, followed by the postnucleus. The following subtypes occur:

7.2.1. Emphasizer as postnucleus, e.g. /eSechey/ 'has certainly come' /khubi/ 'certainly very much'.

7.2.2. Modulator as postnucleus, always the rightmost or last word in a clause element e.g. /eSeche to/ 'has he really come?; it is because he has come that...'.

7.2.3. Negative as postnucleus, e.g. /kaTbe na/ 'will not cut it up' /bhalo na/ 'not good, not well'.

7.2.4. Demonstrative as postnucleus, e.g. /ukil ta jani/ 'I know that he is a lawyer' /jaben SeTa bhalo/ 'it is good that he will go'.

7.3. Parordinate phrases.

The parordinate phrase consists of two nuclei of equal status. The following subtypes occur:

7.3.1. Twin. The same nucleus is repeated exactly. The meaning is incompleteness, approximation, unevenness or multiplicity, e.g. /ghoRa ghoRa/ 'horse-like' /lal lal/ 'reddish, many red ones' /bar bar/ 'time and again' /jabe jabe/ 'as if intending to go' /jete jete/ 'before starting to go; before the journey is completed' /pOr pOr/ 'one after another'/pOre pOre/ 'at intervals'.

7.3.2. Echo. The same nucleus is repeated with a requisition. The meaning is inclusion of associate conjoint or disjoint possibilities.

7.3.2.1. With an obligatory initial consonant, usually /T/, less commonly /ph/, rarely /S/, e.g. /ghoRa ToRa/ 'a horse or the like' /aSbe TaSbe/ 'will come or something' /rumal phumal/ 'a handkerchief or the like' /moTa SoTa/ 'stoutish'.

7.3.2.2. With an obligatory first vowel /a/, e.g. /bhul bhal/ 'an error or the like' /moT maT/ 'rough aggregate' /chim cham/ 'neat' /pher phar/ 'turns of various kinds'.

7.3.2.3. With an obligatory last vowel /a/ for the first nucleus, e.g. /dOma dOm/ 'one bang after another' /kORa kOR/ 'strictness' /moTa muTi/ 'roughly, on the whole'.

7.3.3. Polarity. Two words of synonymous, antonymous or associated meaning. The phrase as a whole indicates generalization, inclusion of all conceivable alternatives within that class of which the given two are examples, e.g. /ma bap/ 'protector (mother-father)' /bagh bhaluk/ 'ferocious beasts (tiger-bear)' /uMcunicu/ 'uneveness, inequality (high-low)'.

7.4. Coordinate phrases.

The coordinate phrase consists of two or freely more nuclei of equal status. The phrase as a whole indicates a set of choices that may be made without restriction as to number or rank, e.g. /ram SEm/ 'Ram and Shyam, Ram or Shyam' /lOmba Sikkhito/ 'tall, educated...' /jabe thagbe/ 'will go, stay...'

7.5. Included clause.

The included clause is a sequence that would in other contexts - and rather more commonly - manifest a complete clause. For example, the phrase /apni jaben janiechi/ 'I have informed (them that) you will go' may be regarded as a complex phrase of which the prenucleus is a simple phrase of the included clause type, namely /apni jaben/, a pronoun subject followed by a predicate.

7.6. Complex phrases.

Complex phrases are sequences of three or more words substituting in a clause element. They are classified into three subtypes:

7.6.1. String structure. This is exhibited by expansions of coordinate phrase structure, e.g. /ram SEm jodu/ 'Ram and Shyam and Jadu, Ram or Shyam or Jadu' /lOmba Sikkhito SOmponno/ 'tall, educated, wealthy...' /jabe thagbe khabe/ 'will go, stay, eat...'.

7.6.1.1. Series. This is a simple expansion, as above.

7.6.1.2. Index. Each member of the sequence is a simple phrase with a conjunction as the leftmost nucleus, e.g. /hOY ram hOY SEm hOY jodu/ 'perhaps Ram, perhaps Shyam, perhaps Jadu...' /na jabe na thagbe na khabe/ 'will neither go nor stay nor eat...'.

7.6.1.3. Precadence. A simple series, except that the last member is a simple phrase with a conjunction as prenucleus, e.g. /ram SEm ba jodu/ 'Ram, Shyam or Jadu' /jabe thagbe ar khabe/ 'will go, stay and eat'.

7.6.1.4. Postcadence. A simple series, except that the last member is a simple phrase with an emphasizer postnucleus, e.g. /ramer SEmer joduri/ 'of Ram, of Shyam, of Jadu, too' /jabe thagbe khabeW/ 'will go, stay, even eat'.

7.6.2. Loop structure. This is an expansion in which the prenucleus contains another phrase, e.g. /Sotturer mukhe chay die/ 'with ash thrown upon the face of the enemies' /strir culer kaMTar/ 'of the pin of the hair of the wife' /likhte nite dite/ 'to allow to take it upon oneself to write it' /kutSa procar Sojjho SOmbhob Sadhon/ 'the actualization of the capacity for tolerance of the propagation of slander'.

7.6.3. Layer structure. This is an expansion in which a nucleus, here underlined, contains another phrase, e.g. /jabeW na/ 'will not even go' /nil jama gae chele/ 'the boy (who has) a blue shirt on (his) body' /oy Trake boSe ache lokTa/ 'that man sitting in the truck over there' /rajar bORo cheler praner bondhur prothoma strir gOlar muktar har/ 'the string of pearls on (of) the neck of the first wife (wife-of the-first-one) of the bosom friend (friend of-life's-breath) of the eldest son (son-of the-big-one) of the king'.

7.7. Compound words.

Compound words differ from phrases in three negative potentialities only: (1) an expansion cannot occur to interrupt the sequence, e.g. /amar bondhu/ 'my friend' /amar Onegdiner bondhu/

'an old friend of mine' - but /praner Onegdiner bondhu/ is not possible; (2) a juncture cannot occur to interrupt the sequence, e.g. /bhalomanuS~bhalo+manuS/ 'good as a human being' - but /bhalomanuS/ 'an inoffensive person'; (3) a stress cannot occur on any syllable other than the first or the last one, e.g. /cinebadam~cine'badam/ 'Chinese nuts' - but /cinebadam/ 'peanuts'.

8. SENTENCES AND CLAUSES

8.1. Kinds of clauses.

A sentence may be independent or dependent, in either case marked at the end by a non-mid non-even pitch plus pause. Dependent sentences are identified by the occurrence of an incomplete clause as the sole or the first clause, or of a conditional clause as the sole clause. A more useful classification is based on the number and kinds of clauses in a sentence. Each clause is identified by a pause, tentative or final, at its end. As arranged within a sentence, clauses may be:

8.1.1. Unitary. Just one clause, e.g. /EkTa rumal din to #/ 'please give me a handkerchief'.

8.1.2. Twin. Just two clauses, strikingly parallel in internal structure, with none to two connectives, e.g. /ami thaki= tumi jeo#/ 'let me stay, you go' /ami thaki= kintu tumi jeo#/ 'let me stay, but you go' /ami jodi thaki= tahole tumi jeo#/ 'if I stay, then you should go'.

8.1.3. Cadenced. A string of complete clauses, with the final one somewhat different in internal structure, e.g. /omni= gachete phul phuTlo= jOler haMS uRlo= đokkhin theke haWa dilo= bOSonto eSe gElo#/ 'right away, flowers blossomed in the trees, the geese flew off the waters, a breeze came up from the south; the spring arrived'.

8.1.4. Parenthetic. A clause infixed into what would otherwise have been a complete clause, e.g. /ey kOlomTa= jar dam Ek So Taka= ami upohar peechi#/ 'this pen, the price of which is one hundred rupees, I got as a gift' /purono kaSite= cOmotkar jaYga# taMr EkTa baRi ache#/ 'in old Kashi (Benares), a beautiful place, he has a house'.

8.1.5. Preambled. An incomplete clause occurrent before a complete clause, e.g. /kal= uni Egbaro aSen ni#/ 'yesterday, he didn't come even once'.

8.1.6. Supplemented. An incomplete clause following a complete one, e.g. /EkTa rumal din to= silker=/ 'please give me a handkerchief, a silk one'.

8.1.7. Anaphoric. A complete clause without a predicate, occurring before or after a complete clause with predicate, e.g. /ami jarmani gechlam= amar bhay iNlEnD#/ 'I had gone to Germany, my brother to England' /ami Sekhane= beSikkhon thagbo na/ 'I shall not stay there long'.

8.1.8. Fragmented. A string of incomplete clauses, e.g. /nilmoni= dirgho niSSaS phele= manob jiboner SeS obhiggoMta= SONSarer SOrbottom gEMner bakkoTi= abritti kore= uThe= baRir bhetore gelen# duniar= karo bhalo korte ney#/ 'Nilmani signed deeply, uttered the ultimate experience of human life, the wisest saying of the world, got up, and went inside the house: in this world, it is not right to do good to anyone'.

8.2. Incomplete clauses.

Clauses may usefully be classified into four cross-divisions. Incomplete clauses, as distinguished from complete clauses, may not have more than just one clause-level element, so that the internal structure of these clauses is not different from the word or phrase structure of some type other than the included clause. Such incomplete clauses may often occur as sentences in:

8.2.1. Calls, e.g. /jabo na= ma=/ 'I won't go, Mother'.

8.2.2. Responses, e.g. /aSchi=/ 'coming!'

8.2.3. Greetings, e.g. /nOmoSkar/ (untranslatable; equivalent to 'good morning' or 'good evening', but more formal) /tar pOr= ki khObor#/ 'now then, what's new?'.

8.2.4. Announcements, e.g. /purono kagoj#/ 'old newspapers! (cry of those who buy them from door to door)' /Sabdhan#/ 'danger!'.

8.3. Complete clauses.

8.3.1. In a complete clause, there is one immediate constituent element in the final position as nucleus, and one to several immediate elements of the clause preceding it. The nucleus position means the comment, the more general term, the state. The nonfinal prenucleus position means the topic, the less general term, the limit. There is no restriction on selection or order, e.g. /ram eSeche/ 'Ram has come' /eSeche ram/ 'the one who has come is Ram' /tini ukil/ 'he is a lawyer' /ukil tini/ 'the one who is a lawyer is he' /iniy tini/ 'this is he' /thag jabona/ 'let it remain as it is (drop the idea), I shall not go' /jabo bolechi/ 'I have said that I will go' /lOmba khub/ 'tall he is very much; the tallness is very much' /kalo kak/ 'it is crows that are black'.

8.3.2. When there is more than one immediate element preceding the nucleus in the clause, the element which is nearest to the nucleus implies a more intimate, more general, more stable, more regular relationship to the nucleus, e.g. /bagh moS mereche/ 'the tiger has killed the buffalo (tiger buffalo killed-has-he)' /moS bagh mereche/ 'the buffalo has killed the tiger' /bhalo phuTbOl khElen/ 'plays football well' /phuTbOl bhalo khElen/ 'plays a good game of football' /ami kolkata jabo/ 'I shall go to Calcutta' /ami jabo kolkata/ 'the place I want to go to is Calcutta'.

8.3.3. It is useful to distinguish at least three types of clause level elements:

Subject. That with which the predicate, if any, harmonizes in person reference. The word or word-substitute phrase manifesting the subject is a noun or a pronoun, with or without case suffix. In accordance with the final case suffix, one may distinguish nominative, locative, genitive, and dative subjects, e.g. /ram eSeche/ 'Ram has come' /Sape keTeche/ 'some snake has bitten (him)' /ramer eSeche/ 'it has come for Ram' /ramke jete holo/ 'Ram had to go'.

Predicate. That which harmonizes with the subject, if any, in person reference. The word or word-substitute phrase manifesting the predicate is a verb. Examples below.

Frame. The word or word-substitute phrase may be of any kind, e.g. /upohar dilo/ 'gave as present' /upoharTa dilo/ 'gave the present' /Sonar dilo/ 'gave it of gold' /ami thag jabo na/ 'drop it, I shall not go' /tin din collo/ 'went for three days' /tin dine collo/ 'started in three days' /take paThabo/ 'I shall send him there; I shall send him that' /gele hObe/ 'it will be all right if you go (if somebody goes)' /aSben bolechen/ 'he has said that (he) will come' /tini Sukhi/ 'he is happy' /ram bayre/ 'Ram is outside' /ciThiTa ramke/ 'the letter is to Ram' /oTa amar/ 'that is mine' /mukher moddhe eykhane/ 'inside the mouth - at this place'.

The most ordinary unemphatic order is Subject--Frame--Predicate, e.g. /ami kal jabo/ 'I shall go tomorrow' /uni oTa paThiechen/ 'he has sent it off'.

8.3.4. Clauses preceded by another clause usually have the connective word, if any, in the leftmost position, e.g. /karon uni aSen ni/ 'it is because he has not come' /uni jOkhon aSen= tOkhon baRite kew thake na#/ 'when he comes nobody is ever at home (he that particular time comes, that very time at home somebody stays not)'.

8.3.5. An often difficult problem is how to identify the boundaries of the immediate elements of a clause. Let us use the arbitrary symbol /&/ to mark it in our examples. /&/ is only sometimes marked by juncture. A stress may often mark the beginning of a clause level nucleus or of a predicate. Other clues are even more irregular.

One method is to try out real or imaginary experiments in omission. Those words which must be omitted together if a violent change in meaning is to be avoided may be considered to belong together in a single phrase, simple or complex, manifesting a single clause level element, e.g. /or jete hObe/ 'he has to go'. Try /or hObe/, which means 'it will happen for him'; /or jete/, which means 'as soon as he went there...'; /jete hObe/, which means 'somebody has to go'. Only the last result avoids a violent change in meaning. The clause analysis is therefore into /or & jete hObe/, a genitive subject followed by a phrase predicate.

But such a decision is not always possible, e.g. /ramer khaWa holo/ 'for Ram the eating has happened (Ram has finished eating)'. The clause analysis may be /ramer & khaWa holo/, a genitive subject followed by a phrase predicate. . It may be /ramer khaWa & holo/, a phrase as nominative subject followed by a predicate.

8.4. Impersonal clauses.

An impersonal clause, as distinguished from a personal clause, has these features: (1) a subject is optional, but if present, must have the genitive case, freely varying in a few restricted types with the dative case; (2) a predicate is optional, but if present, must have the ordinary third person, e.g. /jaWa holo/ 'the going happened (somebody succeeded in going)' /amar jaWa holo/ 'I could go' /tar jabar kOtha/ 'the proposition is that he is to go' /tar nimontron/ 'the invitation is for him' /tar jete hObe/ or, equally well, /take jete hobe/ 'he has to go'.

8.5. Impredicative clauses.

An impredicative clause, as distinguished from a predicative clause, has obligatorily no predicate, and asserts a state that has current and/or timeless validity, a meaning that coincides with that of Tense 3, e.g. /ram Sukhi/ 'Ram is happy' /ram Sukhi ache/ 'Ram is certainly a happy one' /ram Sukhi hOY/ 'Ram becomes happy' /amar EkTa kOlom/ 'for me it is a pen' /amar EkTa kOlom ache/ 'I have a pen' /amar EkTa kOlom thake/ 'I always have a pen around' /amar EkTa kOlom hOY/ 'I get a pen' /ram dillite/ 'Ram is in Delhi' /ram dillite ache/ 'Ram is now staying in Delhi' /ram dillite hOY/ 'Ram was born in Delhi' /ram dillite thake/ 'Ram lives in Delhi'.

8.6. Infinitive clauses.

An infinitive clause, as distinguished from a finite clause, is usually nonfinal in the sentence and has a predicate in which the verb has the nominal (plus case suffix), the durative or the conditional suffix, or also, if in the sense of prefacing a state rather than an event, the conjunctive suffix, e.g. /uni ekhane ele= amra EkSoNge jabo#/ 'when or if he comes over here, we shall go out together' /uni ekhane aSte= amra EkSoNge gelam/ 'as (soon as) he came over here, we went out together' /uni ekhane aSbar pOre= amra EkSoNge gelam#/ 'after he came over here, we went out together' /ekhane eSe= amra EkSoNge gelam#/ 'after (our) coming over here, we went out together' /ekhane eSe= taMra EkSoNge gelen#/ 'after (their) coming over here, they went out together' /chele mara gie= tini bODDo kahil#/ 'since/because (his) son died, he is very enfeebled'.

8.7. Chart.

From the point of view of significant differences in meaning conveyed by choice of clause structure alone, the above classification appears to reflect relatively superficial and variable conditions of six more basic types that result from the intersection of the system described in 8.3.2. and the system described in 8.4. The former provides for three significant immediate constituent types, namely, a nucleus at rightmost; a prenucleus at second from right, if present at all; and, optionally, one or more anteprenuclei to the left. Let us use the symbol N to represent a clause with nucleus alone, or an incomplete clause; the symbol sequence PN to represent a clause with two immediate constituents; and APN for a clause with three or more immediate constituents. The latter, i.e. 8.4., provides for two mutually exclusive clause types based on selection potentials indifferent to orders of succession. We mark the impersonal clause type as I and the non-impersonal type as NI:

N/I	PN/I	APN/I
N/NI	PN/NI	APN/NI

For examples of variations within a single basic type, consider the following from among those already cited: /tar jabar kOtha/ 'the idea is that he is to go' /chele mara gie/ 'since his son died' /ciThiTa ramke/ 'the letter is to Ram'. All are of the basic type PN/I.

9. CONTRASTS WITH AMERICAN ENGLISH

This chapter partly recapitulates and partly adds new material in order to bring into focus those structural differences between Bengali and English which have been found to be the most difficult for speakers of American English.

9.1. Unstressed /e o/ and nonsyllabic /Y W/ need special drills, because of the fact that nothing similar occurs in English, e.g. /thole/ 'big bag' /tholi/ 'small bag' /tholeY/ 'in the big bag' /tholey/ 'just the big bag' /calo/ 'it is your throw now (you move it)' /calu/ 'currently valid' /bo/ 'bow of ribbon' /boW/ 'even the bow' /bow/ 'bride'.

9.2. In consonant clusters the most important difference is the contrast between geminated and nongeminated consonants, e.g. /Suji/ 'cream of wheat': /Sujji/ 'sun'; /pata/ 'leaf': /patta/ 'trace'; /kana/ 'one-eyed': /kanna/ 'weeping'; /bidroho/ [bid.droho] 'rebellion'; /bhapSa/ [bhap.pSa] 'foggy'.

Different but not difficult are the initial clusters /sr hr hl mr ml nr/, e.g. /srot/ 'current, flow' /hridOY/ 'heart' /hladini/ 'generatrix of delight' /mrittu/ 'death' /mlan/ 'dim, faded' /nritto/ 'dance'.

9.3. Much more difficult is the syllable division. Compare Bengali /ko.ko.bhen/ to English coke-oven /khowk.avn/; /poS.Ta.piS/ to post-office /powst.af.is/; /mi.TiN/ meeting to /miyt.iN/. Bengali never assigns more than the first postvocalic consonant to the first syllable, and that only if there is one consonant or more before the next vowel; whereas in English the syllable division is next to the unstressed vowel in the direction of the stress.

The essential difference between English and Bengali syllable structures is that for English only unstressed vowels are minimal syllables, and no vowel is singly a minimal stress group; whereas each Bengali vowel is a potential minimal syllable, and also a potential minimal stress group. This is obscured in those descriptions of English structure in which a solitary glottal stop at syllable onset as well as the homorganic nonsyllabic vowels at syllable postnuclei are considered to be zeros. The phonemic syllabic divisions of English also differ from the phonetic ones, which are somewhat more relevant in any cross-lingual study, e.g. *exactly* /ig'zækli/ [i'gzækli].

9.4. The stress patterns differ on two points. Stress and extra length vary independently, and the stressed syllable may not often have the vowel lengthened. Long sequences of unstressed syllables are quite frequent, e.g. /'horibhabinidebirmee/, i.e. /horibhabini debir mee/ 'daughter of Lady Haribhabini'.

The pitch patterns are difficult on three points. Short glides occur in nonfinal positions. Questions without interrogative pronouns usually end on high rising or high falling pitch. Citations usually involve a mid level pitch on the stress followed by a low falling pitch before the pause and contrast strikingly with the English pattern of a high level pitch on the stress followed by a low level pitch before the pause.

9.5. The verbs cause difficulty on four points. Many of the tense meanings do not match those of the English tenses. For example, Tense 6, the one with /l/ in the suffix, is used for both simple and anticipated past, e.g. /Dube gElo/ 'he drowned' /Dube gElo dhOro/ 'he is drowning, you catch him'. As another example, there is no anticipated simple present such as in English 'we go there tomorrow'; the Bengali equivalent would be /amra okhane kal jabo/ or /amra okhane kal jacchi/, never /amra okhane kal jay/, which can only mean 'it was yesterday that we went there'.

There is no tense concord at all, e.g. /uni bollen je aSchen/ 'he said that he was/is coming'.

There is no copula in an unemphatic positive statement in the simple present (Tense 3), e.g. /rambabu ukil/ 'Mr. Ram is a lawyer'.

Further, there are a great number of aspective auxiliary verbs, comparable to the auxiliary *do* in such English constructions as *he did go*, *he does not like it*, etc. The problem is all the greater because, quite like the case with English *do*, every single one of these auxiliary verbs matches a homonymous independent verb of a different meaning, e.g. /phelche/ 'he is throwing it' /dicche/ 'he is giving it' /phele dicche/ 'he is throwing it away' /die phelche/ 'he is giving it away (in a manner that makes it difficult to reverse the action)'.

9.6. The nouns are difficult on the following points. The determiners correspond to the articles of English by grammatical analogy, but have very different meanings. The determiner /Ta/ translates English *the* in some cases, but not in many other equally important cases. The case is similar for the suffixed /Ek/, or the prefixed /Ek/ or /EkTa/, or the suffixed /ra/ or /gulo/. All of these have much greater force than the English articles and plurals, and also different meanings. There is no contrast in Bengali between mass nouns and count nouns, nouns which may not be modified by a numeral and nouns which may.

The case suffixes are best compared to the simple prepositions of English, and the directives to the compound prepositions. Only a few of the directives are separable in Bengali, e.g. /amar kache/ 'in my possession, addressed to me, near me' /kache thaka/ 'to be near someone, to be addressed to someone, to be in somebody's possession'.

Adjectives are distinguished from nouns only semantically, not grammatically. They also have a tendency to occur infrequently as the stem in a subject-manifesting word, e.g. /aro lal/ 'more red' /aro lok/ 'more people' /aro raja/ 'all the more of a king'.

Adverbs are not distinguishable at all from adjectives or nouns, e.g. /Sundor cehara/ 'a beautiful face' /Sundor boleche/ 'has said it beautifully'.

9.7. The pronouns are difficult on four points. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns are distinguished only by a complex set of intonation selections. For example, the sequence /kOkhon eSechen/ may have these different meanings: /'3 2 + 2 $\overline{3}$ =/ 'when did he come?' /'3 2 + 1 $\underline{1}$ #/ 'when was it that he came?' /'2 1 + 2 $\underline{3}$ =/ 'you want to know when he came?' /'2 1 + 1 $\underline{1}$ #/ 'he came at some time or other'.

Pronouns may occur as nuclei in phrases after prenuclei, e.g. /nil ogulo/ 'those blue ones (those things which are blue)' /amar bhalo jeTa/ 'that only good one of mine'.

/o/ and /Se/ both translate English _that_, but in different shades of meaning, respectively 'yonder' and 'the same'.

9.8. In phrase structures as well as in clause structures, the Bengali insistence on regressive syntax needs to be pointed out. The phrase /mOhatta gandhi/ does not translate _the greathearted Gandhi_ as accurately as _Gandhi the greathearted_. Compare other kinds of phrases: /kO Okkhor/ _the letter A_ /dekhte bhalo/ _good to look at_; /ram babu/ (cf. English "Mister Ed").

9.9. Bengali has parordinate phrases, a kind not possessed by English. This becomes a difficulty only when translating from Bengali, not into it.

9.10. There is no distinction in Bengali verbs between transitive and intransitive, as in English _he made it_ and _he worked it_ versus _he slept_ and _he worked_, and also none between definite and indefinite, as in English _he stayed there_, _he ran up_ versus _he dreamt_ and _he ran_. The English verb, if unaccompanied by an object or a condition as complement, means not so much an action as a recurrent and/or enduring state of being. Bengali verbs have more versatile meanings, and are often better translated by transitive or definite verbs in English.

There is, however, a marginally useful distinction in Bengali between impersonal verbs and personal verbs, i.e., verbs which may not occur in personal clauses and those which may, e.g. /or lagche/ 'he feels it; he is being hurt' /o lagche/ 'he is picking on somebody' /or hObe/ 'he will acquire it' /o hObe/ 'he will be it' /or cOle/ 'he subsists' /o cOle/ 'he moves' /or matha dhoreche/ 'he has a headache' /o hat dhoreche/ 'he has caught the hand (is being very persuasive)'.

9.11. A serious difference is that the Bengali clause nucleus is quite often a single word, freely a noun or a verb, e.g. /rat/ 'it is night' /korche/ 'he is doing it' /jabe/ 'he will go there'. This contrasts with the English insistence on a predicate, which is, further, in all except imperative clauses, preceded by an obligatory subject. The English construction is analogous to the Bengali verb word, which consists of a verb stem followed by a suffix composed of a tense marker followed by a person marker. The Bengali subject is analogous to the adjunct agent of English, such as manifested by *poor fellow* in *he missed the bus, poor fellow*.

9.12. Equally serious is the stress location when the clause nucleus is in a phrase. In Bengali, the stress falls usually at the beginning of the phrase, e.g. /ami 'kolkata jabo/ 'I shall go to Calcutta' /uni 'bORo ukil/ 'he is a big lawyer'; whereas in English it falls on the verb and/or on the main word of the adjunct or complement following the verb, e.g. *I shall 'do it*, *I shall 'go 'there*, *I shall 'go to 'Calcutta*, *he is a 'big 'lawyer*.

9.13. A beginner's difficulty is that Bengali has no passive voice as idiomatic usage, though it has a somewhat comparable impersonal clause type. For example, /khaWa hoeche/ 'has the eating been done?' is noncommittal about the person reference, which is useful in the same way as the English passive, if one is not sure which pronoun to choose for one's audience. Another way of saying this is that there is in Bengali only one verb form - VS-1 - that corresponds to the infinitive, the present participle, and the past participle of the English verb.

In Sanskrit nouns only, there is a contrast between derivative suffixes meaning "processes" and another class with the meaning "products". This is somewhat comparable to the contrast in English between the present and the past participle, e.g. /sthapon/ 'the founding of': /sthapito/ 'the founded'; /kar/ 'the making of': /krito/ 'the made'.

9.14. Perhaps the most important of all differences is the instrument of communication offered by the free word order of Bengali clauses, e.g. /amar EkTa purono gaRi chilo/ 'I had an old car' /amar purono EkTa gaRi chilo/ 'I had of old things a car' /amar purono gaRi EkTa chilo/ 'I had by way of old cars just one' /EkTa purono gaRi chilo amar/ 'an old car was what I had' /amar purono gaRi chilo EkTa/ 'by way of old cars, I did have one'

/amar EkTa chilo purono gaRi/ 'I had once upon a time an old car' /amar chilo EkTa purono gaRi/ 'as regards me, I had an old car' /amar chilo purono EkTa gaRi/ 'as regards my having anything, there was that old thing of a car' /amar chilo purono gaRi EkTa/ 'as regards my having anything like an old car, there was one'.

The key to the understanding of the word order is that Bengali syntax is regressive, in contrast to the progressive syntax of English. A Bengali clause has to be analyzed backwards from the end. This may be shown by matching build-up drills:

/ram/
'it is Ram'
/nam ram/
'it is Ram that the name is'
/tar nam ram/
'it is Ram that the name is of him'

/ache/
'it is there'
/okhane ache/
'it is there over yonder'
/amader okhane ache/
'it is there over yonder with us'
/cheleTa amader okhane ache/
'it is there over yonder with us that boy (is)'

10. SADHU STANDARD

There are two standard Bengali languages. The one described in the preceding chapters is the one now spoken and written by the majority of the most influential Bengalis. It is identified as /colit bhaSa/ or less formally /colti bhaSa/ 'the current language' as opposed to /Sadhu bhaSa/ 'the decent language'. The Sadhu standard lingers on in many newspapers and textbooks, and especially in official documents. Until the twenties it was the only and unchallenged medium for formal publication or oratory. The larger and the better part of Bengali literature is in it.

10.1. To some extent the differences between the two standards is a matter of lexical selection, as, for example, Sadhu /toylo/ for Chalit /tel/ 'oil'. This is to be learned only piecemeal and cannot be handled in a short grammar. One must be warned, however, against taking this criterion too seriously. There has been extremely folksy prose in the Sadhu standard, and highly learned styles in the Chalit standard.

10.2. A characteristic feature is in the vowel selection for a large number of very common words of folk origin. While the Chalit standard has /opor bhetor juto muTe phite beRal/, the Sadhu standard prefers /upor bhitor juta muTia phita biRal/, and so on. Simple rules are not adequate.

10.3. Another feature is the presence of /h/ in a number of very common words of folk origin. While the Chalit standard has /ja ta bOWa SOWa/, the Sadhu standard prefers /jaha taha bOha SOha/, and so on.

10.4. Apart from these, the fundamental differences are in the forms of demonstratives, pronouns, determiners, and verbs. The demonstratives are:

/e/ 'this person' /iha/ 'this thing' /ihar/ 'of this person or thing' /ihake/ 'to this person or thing' /ihate/ 'in or through this person or thing'

/o/ 'yonder person' /uha/ ' yonder thing' /uhar/ 'of yonder person or thing' /uhake/ 'to yonder person or thing' /uhate/ 'in or through yonder person or thing'

/je/ 'that person which' /jaha/ 'that thing which' /jahar/ 'of that person or thing which' /jahake/ 'to that person or thing which' /jahate/ 'in or through that person or thing which'

/Se/ 'the same person' /taha/ 'the same thing' /tahar/ 'of the same person or thing' /tahake/ 'to the same person or thing' /tahate/ 'in or through the same person or thing'

/ke/ 'who' /kahar/ 'of whom' /kahake/ 'to whom' /kahate/ 'by whom'

/ki/ 'which thing' /kiSer/ 'of which thing' /kiSe/ 'in or by which thing'

/keho/ 'somebody' /kaharo/ 'of somebody' /kahakeW/ 'to somebody'

10.5. The personal pronouns are different only in the third person. The plain ones are listed with the demonstratives. The honorific ones are:

/ini iMhar iMhake iMhate/ 'this'
/uni uMhar uMhake uMhate/ 'yonder'
/jini jaMhar jaMhake jaMhate/ 'that particular'
/tini taMhar taMhake taMhate/ 'that very'

10.6. In determiners, /diger digoke/ occur instead of /der/ in the genitive and the dative respectively.

/gula/ or even /gulan/ occurs instead of /gulo/

10.7. The differences in verb words are summarized as follows:

VS-1 is the same, but used rarely with any case suffix

VS-2 is /iba/, e.g. /koriba/ /jayba/ /bohiba/ /dowRayba/, and any /eW/ stem changes to /i/, e.g. /diba/ /niba/

VS-3 is /ite/, e.g. /korite/ /jayte/ /bohite/ /dowRayte/

VS-4 is /ile/, e.g. /korile/ /jayle/ /bohile/ /dowRayle/

VS-5 is /ia/, e.g. /koria/ /jaya/ /bohia/ /dowRaya/

VS-6 is the same

VS-7 is /io/, e.g. /korio/ /jayo/ /bohio/ /dowRayo/

VS-8 is /uk/ even after /W/-final stems, e.g. /jauk/

VS-9 is /un/ even after /W/-final stems, e.g. /jaun/

VS-10 through VS-14 are the same.

VS-15 through VS-30 add /i/ or /y/ before the suffix, e.g. /koribo/ /jaytam/ /hoyle/ /colilam/.

VS-28 does not occur.

VS-30 through VS-40 are in the same special class as VS-41 through VS-50 with the prenucleus verb ending in VS-3, e.g. /koritechi/ /jaytechen/ /bohitechilam/ /dowRaytechilo/.

The second free variants of VS-20, 25, 36, /tum lum chilum/ respectively, do not occur.

VS-41 through VS-50 have the prenucleus verb ending with VS-5, /ia/ after consonant and /ya/ after vowel, e.g. /koriachi/ /jayachilam/.

Monosyllabic stems with /a/ as vowel do not in any position change it to /e/, e.g. /jaya/ /khaya/ /ania/ /aSia/ /payte/ /khayle/ /jayle/.

Bisyllabic stems with /W/ do not vary, e.g. /khaWaya/ /SoWayteche/.

Bisyllabic stems with /o u/ as second vowel do not occur.

11. VERSE STRUCTURE

Experiments have been continual in Bengali verse and have accumulated an impressive body of good poetry in very different types of verse. There is always some stanza structure, usually shown by rhymes at line end, though rhymeless verse is not uncommon. There need not be a line structure, that is, any numerical regulation of the syllables within the lines of a stanza, e.g.:

```
  2:   2  3:    2 1
/he = bi'raT + nodi #
2    2̄  2    2   3̲  2    2 2     2̲:
Od'driSSo = niS'SObdo = tObo + 'jOl #
2        2   1   2̲:
Obicchinno + ObirOl #
 2  1         1
'cOle nirobodhi #/
```

'O great river!
Your invisible, inaudible waters,
Unfragmented and undispersed,
Flow on without end...'

11.1. Line structures in Bengali verse are of three major types. In syllabic verse, all the syllables of a line are given equal weight in the counting. Such verse may or may not distinguish and arrange different types of syllables within the lines. In older Bengali verse only the number of syllables counted, e.g.:

/haraechi amaro amare # (10)
aji ami bhromi Ondhokare # (10)
kOkhono ba SondhabEla = amaro purano Sathi = (8+8)
muhurtero tOre aSe prane # (10)
cari dike nirOkhe nOYane #/ (10)
'I have lost my I.
I err around in darkness now.
Sometimes in an evening, that old companion of mine
Comes alive in me for barely a moment
And looks around through my eyes...'

11.2. In one never widely accepted type of verse, the line structure is syllabic, as above, but closed and open syllables are distinguished and arranged into different patterns. This type of verse is capable of reproducing the metrics of classical Sanskrit verse, e.g.:

/uRe cole gEche bulbul = SunnomOY SOrno pinjOr #
phurie eSeche phalgun = jowboner jirno nirbhOr #/
- - - - - - + + (8) + - + + - + + (7)
- - - - - - + + (8) + - + + - + + (7)
'The nightingale has flown away; the golden cage is all empty.
The month of spring is near the end, worn-out support for
youthfulness.'

11.3. In dynamic line structure, certain syllables are not counted at all. In Bengali, this type of structure appears only in the form of not counting the unstressed syllables. This kind of verse is closely related to folk poetry, e.g.:

/'biSTi pORe 'Tapur Tupur 'nodi elo 'ban #
'Sibu Thakurer 'bie holo 'tin konne 'dan #/
'It is raining in big drops and small drops. The river is in
a flood. Dear Lord Siva got married. Three brides were the
gift.'

11.4. In mora line structure, certain types of syllables are counted as double the weight of others. In the older variety of mora verse in Bengali, closed syllables at word end are counted as double, although there is no necessary lengthening of the actually heard vowels or consonants, e.g.:

```
  2:    3:  2         1:    2    2      1̄:
/rup lagi = aMkhi jhure = gune mon + bhor #
  2 2  2        2̄    2  2̄     2 2  2     1:
proti 'ONgo lagi = kaMde + proti 'ONgo mor #
 2             2̄:   23  2   1  1̄:
hiar pOroS lagi = hia mor kaMde #
 2 3          2 1:      2        1   1̲
pOran piriti lagi = 'thir nahi baMdhe #/
```

211 1111 112 2 (14)
11 11 11 11 11 11 2 (14)
12 12 11 11 2 11 (14)
12 111 11 2 11 11 (14)

'For beauty the eye pours, in goodness the mind is bemused,
For each limb weeps each of my limbs,
For a touch of the heart weeps my heart,
For the love of the soul it is restless.'

11.5. In a different type of mora verse, closed syllables are counted as double without regard to position in words, e.g.:

/SonnaSi upo'gupto # (9)
mothura purir pracirer tOle = (12)
Ekoda chilen 'Supto # (9)
nOgorir dip nibeche pObone = (12)
duar ruddho powro bhObone = (12)
niSither tara srabon gOgone = (12)
ghOno meghe Obo'lupto #/ (9)

'The monk Upagupta was once asleep under the walls of Mathura city. The lights of the city had gone out in the wind, the doors were shut in the city houses, the stars of the night were, on the rainy sky, covered up by dense clouds...'

11.6. The vocabulary of verse is often spiced with a number of archaic or even artificial forms. For example:

Archaic pronouns, e.g. /mOmo/ 'mine' /muy/ 'I' /mor/ 'mine' /mora/ 'we' /moder/ 'ours'

Archaic directives, e.g. /lagi/ or /lagia/ 'for'

Archaic case suffixes, e.g. /amare/ instead of /amake/ 'to me' /taY/ for /take/ 'to that person or thing'

Archaic nouns, e.g. /diThi/ 'sight' /hia/ 'heart, soul'

Archaic verb suffixes, e.g. /nu/ instead of /lam/, /iche/ instead of /che/

Archaic verb stems, e.g. /nara/ 'to be unable to do something'

Artificial verb stems, e.g. /prokaSiba/ instead of /prokaS kOra/ 'to reveal, to publish'

Artificially inserted vowels, as a rule either /i/ or /o/. These insertions fall into two distinct patterns, to prevent word final consonants, and to prevent consonant clusters, e.g. /moNgolo/ for /moNgol/ 'welfare'; /amaro/ for /amar/ 'mine'; /cari/ for /car/ 'four'; /Sinan/ for /snan/ 'a bath'; /SOkoti/ for /Sokti/ 'power'; /jOnom/ for /jOnmo/ 'birth'.

VERSE STRUCTURE

Because of the influence of medieval and dialect literature, it should be mentioned here that the distinction between the vowels /e E/ as well as that between /o O/ is relatively recent for the language. Also, what was a second syllable /i/ or a second syllable /o/ in the older Bengali is frequently in the current standard language not represented by any vowel at all.

12. DACCA DIALECT

In and around Dacca, three quite different varieties of Bengali are heard. The Chalit itself, standard modern Bengali, is spoken much the same as in Calcutta, but only within the college educated upper and middle classes. The older resident lower classes in Dacca city speak pidgin Urdu and a kind of Bengali known as Kutti /kuTTi/ 'belonging to the fort'. The Kutti dialect will not, however, be described in this chapter. The lower middle classes around, and partly in Dacca, speak what is labelled here the Dacca dialect, though this is far less uniform in usage than a brief description will suggest. The Dacca dialect happens to be mutually intelligible with the dialects of the greater part of East Pakistan and large areas of West Bengal, and is thus a good introduction to their study.

The Chalit as used by some, but not all, of the more orthodox Muslims differs a little from the general standard on a few points of spelling. Also, in East Pakistan, there is greater familiarity with Urdu, Persian, and Arabic, and this often shows up in the pronunciation of words recognizable as borrowings from these languages.

12.1. Phonemes.

12.1.1. The phoneme inventory of the Dacca dialect differs from that of Chalit in some respects: /e o/ are slightly lower in quality, e.g. /rel/ 'railway' [rɛl] /pol/ 'bridge' [pɔl]. The semivowels /y w Y W/ do not contrast, being predictable variants of /i u e o/. Nasal vowels do not occur. /r/ is sometimes a trilled plosive. /R/ does not occur, except as random over-correction for /r/. /N/ occurs only at syllable final, e.g. /rON/ 'color, paint' /paNkha/ 'fan'. Voiceless fricative /h/ does not occur, but there is a glottal trill which will be written here with the same symbol, e.g. /hat/ 'hand' /dahuk/ 'a kind of waterfowl'. There is a breathy glottal fricative /H/, e.g. /Hat/ 'seven'. /maHu/ 'spindle'. /kh ph/ vary freely between aspirated plosives and pure fricatives, e.g. /khaT/ 'bedstead' /Dakhni/ 'cover for utensil' /bokh/ 'chest, breast' /phOl/ 'fruit' /mapha/ 'to measure' /paph/ 'sin'. /k/ is often perceptibly voiced or fricativized in its release, e.g. /kOlOm/ 'pen'. /Th th/ are plosives immediately followed by a rather short glottal trill, e.g. /ThoNga/ 'paper bag' /thal/ 'plate, dish'. /gh Dh dh bh/ are plosives immediately followed by a slightly longer glottal trill, e.g. /ghora/ 'horse' /Dhila/ 'loose' /dhan/ 'unhusked rice' /bhat/ 'cooked rice'; in some areas, there may be instead of the trill a contrastive low pitch, in other areas a rising pitch. /Th Dh/ are often articulated with a lengthening of the plosive instead of the glottal trill. /gh bh/ may in some areas be pure fricatives. Lamino-palatal hushing-release /c j/ do not occur, but there are apico-dental hissing sibilants freely varying with affricated plosives [ts dz], which may be written here with the same symbols /c j/, and which contrast with lamino-alveolar /s z/, e.g. /cai/ 'I want it': /sai/ 'ash'; /kac/ 'glass': /kas/ 'near'.

It may be of some psychological or historical advantage to consider this phonology as a compromise between the Chalit system and another one, simpler by absence of the marginally contrastive /e o k p/ in addition to the absence of /y w Y W M R/. But no such variety of the Dacca dialect has yet been attested.

12.1.2. In intonation, a striking feature is the use in questions of terminal long high-to-low glide /32/, e.g.

2 2 2 2 2 32
/apni ki + take+'cinen #/ 'do you know him?'

12.1.3. Two important characteristics are (1) that syllable postnuclei are permitted of the type /XQ/, where /X/ stands for a second vowel of a vowel cluster, phonetically a semivowel, and /Q/ stands for a consonant; and (2) that a second vowel /i/ disappears, leaving the prenucleus and the nucleus vowel of the succeeding syllable palatalized, e.g. /toil/ [toyl] 'oil' /phouz/ [phowz] 'army' /kOed/ [kOYd] 'imprisonment, imprisoned' /HOon/ [HOWn] 'becoming, happening' /maia/ [mai̯.i̯a<] 'girl' /jania/ [dzai̯n^{i}.i̯a<] 'having known it' /thakite/ [tʔai̯k^{i}.t^{i}ɛ^] 'in order to stay'. In some areas, however, there is no palatalization, only a nonsyllabic /i/ after the vowel of the first syllable, e.g. /jania/ [dzai̯.na] /thakite/ [tˀai̯k.te]. Another variety is [dzai̯n.na], [bai̯T.Ta], etc.

12.1.4. A complete set of correspondences between the Chalit and the Dacca forms would be too long to include here, and in view of the considerable body of irregularities, not too useful. A few may be inferred from the data in 12.1.1.-2. The following deserve special mention:

Chalit /u/ corresponds to Dacca /u/ or /o/:
    Chalit /buRi/ Dacca /buri/ 'old woman'
    Chalit /mukh/ Dacca /mok/ 'face, mouth'
Chalit /e/ corresponds to Dacca /e/, /a/ or /E/:
    Chalit /rel/ Dacca /rel/ 'railway'
    Chalit /miche/ Dacca /misa/ 'false(hood)'
    Chalit /peT/ Dacca /pET/ 'stomach'
Chalit /o/ corresponds to Dacca /o/, /a/ or /O/:
    Chalit /coT/ Dacca /coT/ 'hurt, strike'
    Chalit /muTho/ Dacca /muDa/ 'fist'
    Chalit /kOro/ Dacca /kOrO/ 'you do it'
Chalit /a/ corresponds to Dacca /a/ or /E/:
    Chalit /Taka/ Dacca /TEHa/ 'rupee, money'
Chalit /ch/ corresponds to Dacca /s/:
    Chalit /chay/ Dacca /sai/ 'ash'
    Chalit /ache/ Dacca /ase/ 'he is there'
Chalit /j/ corresponds to Dacca /j/ or /z/:
    Chalit /jOr/ Dacca /jOr/ 'fever'
    Chalit /je/ Dacca /ze/ 'that particular'
Chalit /jh/ corresponds to Dacca /z/ or /zH/:
    Chalit /majh/ Dacca /maz~mazH/ 'middle'
    Chalit /majhi/ Dacca /mazHi/ 'boatman'

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Chalit /S/ corresponds to Dacca /H/ at word initial, rarely elsewhere:

Chalit /Sak/ Dacca /Hag/ 'spinach'
Chalit /maS/ Dacca /maS/ 'month'
Chalit /mOSa/ Dacca /mOSa/ 'mosquito'
Chalit /bOSa/ Dacca /bOWa~bOHa/ 'sitting'
Chalit /aSe/ Dacca /aHe/ 'he comes'

Chalit /k/ corresponds to Dacca /g H/ between vowels, to /k/ at word initial or after voicless consonant, to /kh g/ elsewhere:

Chalit /SOkol/ Dacca /HOgOl/ 'all'
Chalit /Dhakna/ Dacca /Dhakhna/ 'utensil cover'
Chalit /Sak/ Dacca /Hag/ 'spinach'
Chalit /buk/ Dacca /bokh/ 'breast, chest'
Chalit /maku/ Dacca /maHu/ 'spindle'

Chalit /p/ corresponds to Dacca /p/ at word initial or after voiceless consonant, to /ph/ elsewhere:

Chalit /pul/ Dacca /pol/ 'bridge'
Chalit /dhappa/ Dacca /dhappa/ 'bluff'
Chalit /Sap/ Dacca /Haph/ 'snake'
Chalit /Tupi/ Dacca /Tuphi/ 'a hat, a cap'

Chalit /T/ corresponds to Dacca /D/ between vowels, to /T/ elsewhere:

Chalit /paT/ Dacca /paT/ 'jute'
Chalit /TaTka/ Dacca /TaTka/ 'fresh'
Chalit /moTor/ Dacca /mODOr/ 'motor car'

Chalit /kh/ corresponds to Dacca /k/ at word final, to /kh/ at word initial and before or after a nasal, and to /H/ between vowels:

Chalit /mukh/ Dacca /mok/ 'mouth, face'
Chalit /khacche/ Dacca /khaitase/ 'he is eating'
Chalit /SONkha/ Dacca /SONkhE/ 'number'
Chalit /pakhna/ Dacca /pakhna/ 'wing'
Chalit /makhon/ Dacca /maHOn/ 'butter'

Chalit /gh/ corresponds to Dacca /gh/ at word initial, to /g/ elsewhere:

Chalit /ghoRa/ Dacca /ghora/ 'horse'

Chalit /bagh/ Dacca /bag/ 'tiger'

Chalit /bagha/ Dacca /baga/ 'tiger-like'

Chalit /ph/ corresponds to Dacca /ph/ in all positions.

Chalit /bh/ corresponds to Dacca /bh/ at word initial, to /b/ elsewhere:

Chalit /bhat/ Dacca /bhat/ 'cooked rice'

Chalit /labh/ Dacca /lab/ 'profit'

Chalit /abhaS/ Dacca /abaS/ 'hint, sign'

Chalit /Th/ corresponds to Dacca /Th/ at word initial, to /D/ between vowels, and to /T/ before the sequence /ia/ and elsewhere:

Chalit /Thakur/ Dacca /Thahur/ 'Brahmin, (woman's) father-in-law, god'

Chalit /miThe/ Dacca /miDa/ 'sweet'

Chalit /uThe/ Dacca /uTia/ 'having arisen'

Chalit /piTh/ Dacca /piT/ 'back of body'

Chalit /Dh/ corresponds to Dacca /Dh/ at word initial:

Chalit /Dhaka/ Dacca /DhaHa/ 'Dacca'

Chalit /th/ corresponds to Dacca /th/ at word initial, to /t/ elsewhere:

Chalit /thal/ Dacca /thal/ 'plate, dish'

Chalit /kOtha/ Dacca /kOta/ 'proposition'

Chalit /pOth/ Dacca /pOt/ 'way'

Chalit /dh/ corresponds to Dacca /dh/ at word initial, to /d/ elsewhere:

Chalit /dhan/ Dacca /dhan/ 'unhusked rice'

Chalit /dudh/ Dacca /dud/ 'milk'

Chalit /modhu/ Dacca /modu/ 'honey'

12.2. Demonstratives.

/Emon~Emun/ 'this manner' /EHon/ 'now' /eiDa/ 'this piece' /eigula/ 'these things'. No /e/ occurs.

/Omon~Omun/ 'that manner' /oHane/ 'there' /oiDa/ 'that piece' /oigula/ 'those things'. No /o/ occurs.

/zEmon~zEmun/ 'that particular manner' /zeiDa/ 'that particular piece' /zeigula/ 'those particular things' /zemne/ 'in that manner'

/SEmon~Semun~HEmon~HEmun/ 'that very manner' /SeiDa~HeiDa/ 'that very piece' /Seigula~Heigula/ 'those very things' /temne/ 'in such a manner'

12.3. Pronouns.

Case	Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative	First	/ami/	/amra/
	Second Ordinary	/tumi/	/tomra/
	Familiar	/tui/	/tOra/
	Honorific	/aFne/	/aFnera/
		/amne/	/amnera/
	Third Ordinary Masculine	/HEe/	/HEra/
	Feminine	/tai/	/taira/
	Honorific Masculine	/te~tani/	/tara~tanira/
	Feminine	/Hatai~HEtai/	/Hataira~HEtaira/
Dative	First	/amare/	/amagO~ amgO~ aNgO/
	Second Ordinary	/tomare/	/tomagO~ tomgO~ toNgO/
	Familiar	/tOre/	/tOgO/
	Honorific	/aFnere~ amnere/	/aFnegO~ amnegO/
	Third Ordinary Masculine	/HEre/	/HEgO/
	Feminine	/taire/	/taigO/
	Honorific Masculine	/tare~tanire/	/tagO~tanigO/
	Feminine	/Hataire~ HEtaire/	/HataigO~ HEtaigO/

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Case	Person	Singular	Plural
Genitive	First	/amarE/	/amagO~aNgO/
	Second Ordinary	/tomar/	/tomagO~tomgO~ toNgO/
	Familiar	/tOr/	/tOgO/
	Honorific	/aFner~amner/	/aFnegO~amnegO/
	Third Ordinary Masculine	/HEr/	/HEgO/
	Feminine	/tair/	/taigO/
	Honorific Masculine	/tar~tanir/	/tagO~tanigO/
	Feminine	/Hatair~ HEtair/	/HataigO~HEtaigO/

12.4. Directives.

Three special directives may also be noted here. /dia/ [da~dda~di̯a<] occurs after the dative in the sense of 'by agency of, via', e.g. /amaredia/ 'by me'; /the~ther~thette~theia~thene~thOne/ occur after the genitive in the sense of 'from', e.g. /HEthe/ [HEtʔε^] [HEt.tε^] 'from him'; /lagia/ occurs after the genitive in the sense of 'for the sake of'.

12.5. Verb suffixes.

The form used unrestrictedly as the nominal is with verb suffix /on/ after monosyllabic and /n/ after bisyllabic stems, e.g. /kOron/ 'to do, to make' /zanan/ 'to inform'. This suffix corresponds to an unproductive derivative suffix of the same shape in Chalit.

VS-1 is as in Chalit, but forms an unproductive derivative suffix in the Dacca dialect, e.g. /lEHa/ 'writing'.

VS-2 is /iba/, used only with the genitive case.

VS-3 is /ite/.

VS-4 is /ile/.

VS-5 is /ia/.

Note that in these suffixes the /i/ is phonetically merely a signal for palatalization, not a syllable nucleus.

VS-6 is zero, as in Chalit.

VS-7 is /io/.

There is a special suffix VS-7B /ien/ meaning an honorific counterpart to the deferred second person imperative VS-7, and a special suffix VS-7C /iS/ meaning the familiar second person counterpart.

VS-8 is /Ok/.
VS-9 does not occur.
VS-10 is /i/.
VS-11 is /OS/.
VS-12 is /O/.
VS-13 is /e/.
VS-14 is /en/.
VS-15 is /mu/ after vowel,
/um/ after consonant.
VS-16 is /bi/.
VS-17 is /ba/.
VS-18 is /bo/.
VS-19 is /ben/.
VS-20 is /tam/ only.
VS-21 is /ti/.
VS-22 is /ta/.
VS-23 is /tO/.
VS-24 is /ten/.
VS-25 is /lam/ only.
VS-26 is /li/.
VS-27 is /la/.
VS-28 does not occur.
VS-29 is /lO/.
VS-30 is /len/.
VS-31 is /tEsi/.
VS-32 is /tasOt/ or /tEsiS/.
VS-33 is /tEso/.
VS-34 is /tEse/.
VS-35 is /tEsen/.
VS-36 is /tEsilam/.
VS-37 is /tEsili/.
VS-38 is /tEsila/.
VS-39 is /tEsilo/ or /tasil/.
VS-40 is /tEsilen/.
VS-41 is /si/.
VS-42 is /sOt/ or /siS/.
VS-43 is /so/.
VS-44 is /se/.
VS-45 is /sen/.
VS-46 is /silam/.
VS-47 is /sili/.
VS-48 is /sila/.
VS-49 is /silo/ or /sil/.
VS-50 is /silen/.

12.6. Verb stem variation.

There is some verb stem variation, though far less than in the Chalit. As an example, the verb /kOron/ 'to do', to make' has the stem /kOr/ for all suffixes except the following, for which its stem form is /kor/:

VS-2 e.g. /koriba/ [koi̯r^{i}.ba].
VS-3 e.g. /korite/.

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VS-4 e.g. /korile/.
VS-5 e.g. /koria/.
VS-7 e.g. /korio/.
VS-7B e.g. /korien/.
VS-7C e.g. /koriS/.

13. CHITTAGONG DIALECT

The speech of Chittagong is perhaps the least widely understood by the general body of the Bengalis. This extreme deviation is due, not to the vocabulary, which is almost wholly eastern Indo-Aryan and indeed in some respects a little closer to the western neighbors of the standard Bengali, but to the phonology. The description here is based on an inadequate sampling and an equally inadequate analysis, but may still provide some orientation.

13.1. Syllable initials.

zero, e.g. /urOn/ 'to fly' /OlFO/ 'a little' /Fata/ 'leaf' /FOOna/ 'ripe'

/m/ bilabial nasal stop, e.g. /meg/ 'cloud' /ma/ 'mother'

/n/ apico-alveolar nasal stop, e.g. /nam/ 'name' /ˇnariburi/ 'guts'

/N/ dorso-velar nasal stop, e.g. /ˇbaNNa/ 'broken'; cf. /HONge/ 'with'

/r/ lamino-palatal trill, not fricativized, e.g. /rOgtO/ 'blood' /rayt/ 'night'

/l/ apico-alveolar lateral stop, e.g. /ˇlODi/ 'stick' /latura/ 'child'

/S/ apico-alveolar hushing sibilant, not lamino-prepalatal as in the standard, e.g. /^Sada/ 'white' /^Sikar/ 'hunt'

/c/ apico-alveolar hissing sibilant, never affricated, e.g. /cog/ 'eye' /ˇFoMca/ 'totten'

/j/ voiced counterpart of /c/, e.g. /joMg/ 'leech' /jiran/ 'to rest'

/s/ lamino-prepalatal hissing sibilant, hushified and affricated after /t/, e.g. /sabOn/ 'to chew' /kisu/ 'some' /batsa/ [ttš] 'child'

/z/ voiced counterpart of /s/, hushified and affricated after /c t d r/, e.g. /ziniS/ 'goods' /tod ziniS/ [ddž] 'your goods' /FaMc zOn/ 'five persons' /ˇxatyO zayom/ or /ˇxaydzim/ 'I shall go to eat' /zamay/ 'husband' /urza/ 'straight'

/F/ voiceless bilabial fricative, e.g. /FOrua/ 'day after tomorrow, day before yesterday' /ˇFOl/ 'fruit'

/B/ voiced counterpart of /F/, e.g. /BaBOna/ 'thought, worry' /bhaBa/ 'father'

/b/ voiced bilabial stop, e.g. /bekub/ 'stupid' /^bOrxi/ 'fishing hook'

/x/ voiceless dorso-velar fricative, e.g. /xinOn/ 'to buy' /ˇxuyn/ 'murder'

/k/ voiceless dorso-velar stop, e.g. /kuMur/ 'dog' /kisu/ 'some'

/g/ voiced dorso-velar stop freely varying with fricative, e.g. /gOndO/ 'smell' /gunOn/ 'to count'

/T/ voiceless retroflex alveolar stop, e.g. /TanOn/ 'to pull' /TunTuni/ 'tailor bird'

/D/ voiced counterpart of /T/, e.g. /DOr/ 'fear' /DugDugi/ 'small drum'

/t/ voiceless apico-dental stop, e.g. /tara/ 'star' /tal/ 'palm fruit'

/d/ voiced counterpart of /t/, e.g. /din/ 'day' /dOri/ 'rope'

/h/ glottal trill, e.g. /ˇhat/ 'hand' /haD/ 'rural marketplace'

/H/ voiced glottal fricative, not breathy as in Dacca, but a murmur, releases any preceding /r/ so as to produce the effect of an inserted /g/, and any other preceding consonant as a geminate, e.g. /ˇHat/ 'seven' /ˇniHaS/ 'breathing' /cayrHan/ [rgH] 'four pieces' /thinHan/ [nnH] 'three pieces'

/y/ relatively high front unrounded nonsyllabic vocoid, releases any preceding consonant in a manner analogous to that of /H/, e.g. /^thHOlya/ [1.1y] 'big bag' /xOryom/ [xoyrgyom] 'I shall do it' /ˇbHikya/ [rkæ~kkæ] 'alms' /yasin/ 'a Muslim proper name'

/w/ relatively high back rounded nonsyllabic vocoid, releases any preceding consonant in a way analogous to that of /y/, e.g. /thinwa/ 'three units' /carwa/ 'four units' /wazed/ 'a Muslim proper name'

13.1.1. There is a set of implosive syllable initials articulated with the larynx slightly jerking down before an occlusion and perhaps interpretable as clusters with /h/.

/mh/ e.g. /mhaNSO/ 'meat' /ˇmhata/ 'head'
/nh/ e.g. /nhag/ 'nose' /nhOdi/ 'river'
/bh/ e.g. /bhazar/ 'urban marketplace' /ˇbhayt/ 'cooked rice'
/gh/ e.g. /ghum/ 'sleep' /ghora/ 'horse'
/Th/ e.g. /ˇThanDa/ 'cold' /Thag/ 'baldness'
/Dh/ e.g. /Dhima/ 'egg' /DhubOn/ 'to sink, to drown'
/th/ e.g. /thin/ 'three' /thal/ 'indulgence'
/dh/ e.g. /ˇdhan/ 'unhusked rice' /ˇdhOrOndharOn/ 'manner of conduct'

13.1.2. There is a set of aspirated syllable initials which may be interpreted as clusters with /H/. The voiced set differs from that of the standard insofar as the aspiration element is not voiceless, but a murmur.

/cH/ e.g. /^cHali/ 'ashes' /cHeb/ 'spit'
/jH/ e.g. /ˇjHal/ 'hot in taste' /ˇjHibba/ 'tongue'
/sH/ e.g. /^sHalam/ 'salaam (a greeting used by Muslims)' /^sHawl/ 'goat'
/zH/ e.g. /ˇzHama/ 'burnt brick' /zHOr/ 'rain'
/bhH/ e.g. /ˇbhHaSyO/ 'common sense' /ˇbhHalo/ 'good'
/ghH/ e.g. /ˇghHugu/ 'dove' /ghHunTi/ 'play kite'
/ThH/ e.g. /ˇThHelya/ 'branch of a tree' /^ThHelya/ 'water pot'
/DhH/ e.g. /^DhHulOyn/ 'a swing' /ˇDhHOgDhHag/ 'manner of behavior'
/tH/ e.g. /^tHOOn/ 'to stay' /^tHaba/ 'paw'
/thH/ e.g. /ˇthHir/ 'quiet' /ˇthHal/ 'plate'
/dhH/ e.g. /ˇdhHuyl/ 'dust'

13.1.3. There is a set of palatalized syllable initials, non-distinctive if preceded by a syllable final containing /y/, and distinctive elsewhere, e.g. /OMne ^xOraybak/ [byak] 'you will make someone do it' /byanya/ 'morning'.

13.1.4. There is a set of syllable initials with /w/ as the prevowel, e.g. /ˇnwa/ 'new' /Fwa/ 'son'.

It is possible that an adequate analysis will modify the above list, especially by reanalyzing /x/ as /kH/, /F/ as /pH/, and /B/ as /bH/.

13.2. Syllable finals.

zero, frequently heard as a glottal stop before pause only, e.g. /Fa/ 'foot, leg' /ˇbhHalo/ 'good'

/m/ e.g. /bham/ 'left side'

/n/ e.g. /ran/ 'thigh' /^keMngOri/ [kẽn.go.ri] 'how'

/N/ e.g. /rON/ 'paint, color' /ˇHuNna/ 'dry'

/M/ nasalization of the preceding vowel, e.g. /FuM/ 'air blown by the mouth'

/r/ replaced automatically by /l/ before /l/ and by /d/ before /t d z/, e.g. /zHOr/ 'rain' /xOrtOk/ [dt~tt] 'you please do it' /caMd ar tara/ [ad] 'the moon and the star' /cOrbi/ [o] 'animal fat' /xOrlye/ [ll] 'if done'

/l/ e.g. /zONgOl/ 'forest'

/S/ e.g. /bhataS/ 'wind'

/c/ e.g. /gac/ 'tree' /FaMc/ 'five'

/j/ e.g. /^SObuj/ 'green'

/s/ e.g. /khaMys/ 'seed used for weighing gold'

/z/ e.g. /lez/ 'tail'

/F/ e.g. /bOrOF/ 'ice'

/b/ partly voiceless before pause or voiceless consonant, and fully voiced elsewhere, e.g. /hab/ [bp] 'snake' /thabFor/ 'a slap' /ˇjHibba/ 'tongue'

/g/ partly voiceless before pause or voiceless consonant, and fully voiced elsewhere, e.g. /DagtOr/ [gk] 'doctor' /Fog/ 'worm' /ugwa/ 'one unit' /FogOr/ [g] 'of the worm'

/D/ partly voiceless before pause, and fully voiced elsewhere, e.g. /mhaD/ 'meadow' /mhaDOr/ 'of the meadow'

/t/ always voiceless, e.g. /ˇhat/ 'hand' /ˇhatOr/ 'of the hand'

/d/ always voiced, e.g. /xad/ 'ditch, precipice' /dud/ 'milk'

/H/ e.g. /^leH/ 'you (familiar) lick it' /^aH/ 'you (familiar) come'

/y/ e.g. /duy/ 'two' /^aMy/ 'I'

/w/ e.g. /ˇFaw/ 'lagniappe (bonus at counter for customer)'

13.2.1. Clusters occur with /M H y w/ as first member. Before /d D/, /M/ is manifested as /n/, with elision of the /d/

before pause only, e.g. /caMd/ [can] 'moon' /caMdOr/ [candOr] 'of the moon' /ˇhaMD/ [nD] 'you (familiar) walk' /dhaMt/ 'tooth' /bOHr/ 'big' /ˇdhHuyl/ 'dust' /miwr/ 'cat'.

A single instance has been found of /w/ as the final element in a cluster, e.g. /ˇxajwOn/ 'to scratch'

A /y/ in syllable final cluster is predictable if another /y/ occurs as the only or the second member of a following syllable initial, and will not be recorded in this transcription, e.g. /maya/ [y.y] 'girl' /mOlya/ [yl.ly] 'dirt'

There is no contrast between /uy/ and /wi/, for which the two segments share the syllable crest equally. This may be due to the intonational lengthening of a final consonant before pause, e.g. /tuMy/ or /twiM/ 'you (ordinary)'.

13.3. Vowels.

/i/ high front unrounded freely varying to high mid, i.e. lower than in the standard, e.g. /FiD/ 'back of body' /ˇasi/ 'I am there'

/e/ mid front unrounded, distinctly lower than the standard except occasionally before pause, e.g. /FeD/ 'belly' /ˇase/ 'it is there (they are there)' /Dhew/ 'wave'

/a/ low central, front unrounded next to /y/, back rounded next to /w/, and central unrounded elsewhere, e.g. /tara/ 'star' /thinwa/ 'three units' /maya/ 'girl' /^sHawl/ 'goat' /^xOraybar lay/ 'in order to make someone do it'

/O/ low back rounded, somewhat higher than the standard, indistinguishable from /o/ if before /y w i u/ in the following syllable, e.g. /xOrlye/ [oyllye] 'if done' /dOS/ 'ten' /dOSwa/ [o] 'ten units' /xO zOn/ 'how many persons' /xOddur/ [o] 'how far' /xOddin/ [o] 'how many days' /bhOwt/ [O] 'much' /^DhHulOyn/ [O] 'a swing'

/o/ mid back rounded, somewhat higher than the standard, indistinguishable from /u/ if before /y w/ in the same syllable, e.g. /ˇcoDo/ 'small, narrow' /ˇFowj/ [u] 'army' /toy/ [u] 'you (familiar)'

/u/ high back rounded, e.g. /cul/ 'hair' /^SurzO/ 'sun'

13.4. Tones.

There is a system of lexically significant pitch shapes, or tones. An independent word, i.e. any word other than a suffix, an enclitic or a grammatical auxiliary, has one and only one contrastive tone. The number of morphemes within the word is not significant. The first tone is dominant in the entire phrase or immediate constituent of the clause in the sense that it imposes its characteristic pitch shape upon the whole sequence. The number of syllables in such an immediate constituent of the clause from the point of tone onset onwards is significant through control of the allophonics.

13.4.1. Rising tone, marked /^/, is a rising glide in monosyllables, level pitch on the first syllable followed by a rising glide on the second syllable in sequences of more than two syllables, e.g. /OMne ^aHybak/ 'you will come' /OMne ^bOHybak/ 'you will sit' /^xer/ 'hay' /^Far/ 'hill, mountain' /^Farwa/ [gw] 'the mountain' /^FaalOn/ 'to wash' /^keMngOri/ [o] 'how' /^bOrxi bece/ 'he sells fishing hooks' /^tulibar lay/ 'for the sake of lifting it up'.

13.4.2. Falling tone, marked /ˇ/, is a falling glide in monosyllables, level pitch on the first syllable followed by a falling glide on the second syllable in sequences of more than two syllables, e.g. /OMne ˇHunibak/ 'you will listen' /OMne ˇhaMSibak/ 'you will smile' /ˇxoMa/ 'fog' /ˇhat/ 'hand' /ˇhatwa/ 'the hand' /ˇbOsOr/ 'year' /ˇnariburi/ 'guts' /ˇlODi bece/ 'he sells sticks' /ˇDhalibar lay/ 'for the sake of pouring it out'.

13.4.3. Level tone, unmarked in this transcription, is level throughout, except for the step changes of pitch due to intonational phenomena, e.g. /am/ 'mango' /Fata bece/ 'he sells leaves' /ThuTThui/ 'gecko' /duMuribar lay/ 'for the sake of racing'.

13.5. Intonation and accent.

Intonational stresses and lengths are strikingly different from those of the standard in the following respects. Isolated syllables before pause are lengthened so as to assign the extra length not to the vowel but to the syllable final. Thus /^bhHalo/ is terminated by [ʔ:], /nam/ by [m:], and /nhag/ by [gk:]. Syllable division is controlled, unlike the case in the standard, by the boundary between the stem and the suffix, e.g. /ˇxajw.On/ 'to scratch' /meg.Or/ 'of the cloud'.

Intonation contours are as follows. Suspenses raise and conclusions lower the final syllable. A question without an interrogative pronoun ends either on a gliding rise from mid to high, or on a gliding fall from high to mid. An explanation ends with extra length on the last vowel plus a gliding fall from high to low. A statement ends on a short low to mid rising glide after a falling tone, a short mid to low falling glide after a rising tone, and an even pitch after level tone.

13.6. Noun suffixes.

Nominative is zero. Genitive is /r/ or /Or/, e.g. /bicir/ 'of the seed' /bhoOr/ 'of the wife'. Dative is /re/ or /Ore/, e.g. /^aMre/ 'to me' /bhoOre/ 'to the wife'. Locative is /t/ or /Ot/, e.g. /bicit/ 'in the seed' /ˇFOlOt/ 'in the fruit'. With nouns denoting time, /ua/ indicates a kind of locative, e.g. /xalua/ 'tomorrow, yesterday' /azua/ 'today'.

13.7. Noun auxiliaries.

13.7.1. Common determiners are: /wa/, e.g. /duwa/ 'two units' /biciwa/ 'the seed, the seed type'; /iba/ or /yba/, e.g. /bhoyba/ 'the wife'; /Han/, e.g. /FataHan/ 'the leaf'; /HOl/, e.g. /bhoHOl/ 'the wives'; /Hun/, e.g. /biciHun/ 'seeds, these seeds, those seeds' /ˇFOlHun/ [O] 'fruits, pieces of fruit'. The anomaly in the last example is not explicable from the limited data gathered, and may lead to a redescription of /ˇlODi FOrua.../ etc., as /ˇloDi Forua.../ etc.

13.7.2. Common directives are: /lay/ 'for' /xase/ 'near' /thun/ or /thHun/ 'from' /HONge/ 'accompanied by' /mOdye/ [o] 'among, amidst' /mwikya/ 'towards'.

13.7.3. Demonstrative pronouns are: /iba/ 'this thing' /eyHun/ 'these things' /ite/ 'this person' /itara/ 'these persons' /itaMy/ 'this person (honorific)' /enDe/ 'here' /etO/ 'this much', etc.; /Oyba OyHun o ora.../ are understood but not commonly used;

/ˇHiba ˇHeyHun ˇHite.../ 'that over there, that already mentioned'; /ˇzHiba ˇzHeyHun.../ 'that particular which...'.

13.7.4. Personal pronouns are:

Case	Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative	First	^aMy	^aMra
	Second Ordinary	^twiM	^twaMra
	Second Familiar	toy [tuy]	tora
	Second Honorific	OMne	OMnOra
Genitive	First	^aMr	^aMrar
	Second Ordinary	^twaMr	^twaMrar
	Second Familiar	tor	torar
	Second Honorific	OMnOr	OMnOrar
Dative	First	^aMre	^aMrare
	Second Ordinary	^twaMre	^twaMrare
	Second Familiar	tore	torare
	Second Honorific	OMnOre	OMnOrare

13.8. Verb auxiliaries.

The negative is formed by prefixing /nO/, e.g. /ˇHenDe nO ˇDhalibak/ 'you will not pour it there' /^aMy nO zayom ma/ 'I shall not go, mother'.

13.9. Verb suffixes.

VS-1 is /n/ or /On/, e.g. /jiran/ 'to rest' /diOn/ 'to give' /^phelan/ 'to throw' /ˇHunOn/ 'to listen, to hear' /^bOHOn/ 'to sit' /ˇhaMSOn/ 'to smile, to laugh' /ˇHunan/ 'to make someone listen' /^aMsurOn/ 'to swim'

VS-2 occurs under restricted circumstances as /yba/ or /iba/, e.g. /^Findibar lay/ 'in order to wear'

VS-3A 'during' is /te/, e.g. /xOrte/ [xOtte]

VS-3B 'for' is /tyO/, e.g. /xOrtyO/ [xoyttyO]

VS-4 is /lye/

VS-5 is /i/

VS-6 is zero

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VS-7 does not occur
VS-7B is /tOk/ 'you (honorific do it at leisure'
VS-8 is /Ok/
VS-9 does not occur, and is substituted by VS-1
VS-10 is /i/, and indistinguishable from VS-5
VS-11 does not occur, and is substituted by VS-6
VS-12 is /O/
VS-13 is /e/
VS-14 does not occur, and is substituted by VS-1
VS-15 is /yom/
VS-16 is /ibi/
VS-17 is /iba/
VS-18 is /ibo/
VS-19 is /ibak/
VS-20 is /tyam/
VS-21 is /ti/
VS-22 is /tya/
VS-23 is /tyO/
VS-24 is /tyak/
VS-25 is /lyam/
VS-26 is /li/
VS-27 is /lya/
VS-28 does not occur, and is substituted by VS-29
VS-29 is /lyO/
VS-30 is /lyak/
VS-31 is /ir/
VS-32 is not distinguishable from VS-33
VS-33 is /Or/
VS-34 is /er/
VS-35 is /tOn/
VS-36 through VS-40 do not occur
VS-41 is /yi/
VS-42 is /yOS/
VS-43 is /yO/
VS-44 is /ye/
VS-45 is /yOn/
VS-46 is /yilam/
VS-47 is /yili/
VS-48 is /yila/
VS-49 is /yil/
VS-50 is /yilak/

14. LITERATURE OF THE OLD PERIOD

The development of Bengali has followed a pattern common to many modern tongues. There was a gradual breaking away from the imposed uniformity of a classic language and literature, in this case Sanskrit. Verse was at first the dominant literary form of expression. Prose was confined to legal documents, and did not develop as a medium of literature until a Bengali printing press was set up by Christian missionaries in the eighteenth century and it became possible to have a quantity of writing which did not have to be memorized. Verse is easier to remember, and where oral tradition is strong and memory does the work of literacy, it is naturally preferred.

Proverbs everywhere are the first and most cogent examples of literary speech. They vividly reveal differences and similarities in human experience, e.g. the Bengali way of saying everything has its price is: "Cowries can buy tiger's milk" (cowries were at one time the basic unit of currency). To bargain for butter before a cow calves is to count your chickens before they hatch. Not so many years ago it was practical advice to say to travellers: "He who goes first is taken by tigers; he who goes last gets the gold." Similarly, a Bengali does not cut off his nose to spite his face but to spoil another's journey. More than a thousand Bengali proverbs have been collected, covering almost every subject.

From proverbs we come to nursery rhymes, fables and fairy tales. The chharā is the oldest form of composition in Bengali literature and the oldest chharā are associated with the child. They are recited, not sung, in a highly stylised manner. The metre does not vary. Lines are broken off and added with ease. There is no instrumental accompaniment. The accent, on the first syllable of each metric foot, makes a rocking rhythm but not a cradle rhythm, for cradles are not used in Bengal. Babies are put to sleep in the open laps of women who rock them on their knees. Sleep is brought by an imaginary aunt to whom all good things are promised.

Differentiation between the activities of boys and girls takes place early. Girls are absorbed in household routines. Ceremonies and feasts take the place of games. As daughter, girl, maiden, wife, mother and grandmother, a woman has special functions assigned to her. Love plays its part. A vivid little verse runs:

"Where shall I find a pot?
Where shall I find a rope?
Be my river, darling,
Let me drown in you."

In the Sejuti brata a girl recites:

"Between my father's house and
The house of my father-in-law
My palanquin comes and goes . . .
I pour honey on the seedling's head.
May I be a king's wife!
I scatter sugar on the seedling's head.
May I be a king's queen."

This is obviously an incantation. Both black and white magic rhymes are current in the countryside. Elephant trappers, snake-charmers, fishermen and hunters all have rhymed spells associated with their calling.

Witches play a prominent part in fairy tales. One prince keeps his life in a pomegranate seed hidden under the palace steps for safety. A stalwart young princess, disguised as a man, sets free multitudes of princes changed into stone by the charms of a sorceress.

The tailor bird, the tiger, the crocodile and the jackal are the favourite animal characters of the fables. Crocodiles and tigers, fearful natural enemies of man in Bengal, are invariably stupid in these stories. So are kings. On the whole benevolent, they are universal dupes. The snake is conspicuous by its absence.

LITERATURE OF THE OLD PERIOD

The Pala dynasty, which ruled from the eighth century to the twelfth, was Buddhist. The charyā verses which survive from this period are claimed to be the earliest existing specimens of Bengali. They are claimed also by Oriya, Assamese, Maithili and Hindi historians. The charyās were composed by initiates and masters of later Buddhism, known as siddhas. The names of the authors are Lui, Kanha, and Bhusuk. The lines are cryptic and carry an esoteric meaning for initiates and a simple meaning for the layman. They employ the universal language of mysticism. Imagery current in the daily speech of the Bengali people today is found here for the first time. The metrical perfection of the charyās suggests that they belong to the closing phase of an earlier language, apabhramśa, rather than to the formative early period of Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, or Maithili. All these languages grew out of it. The Buddhists have also bequeathed to us another type of verse, the dohā, or couplet.

Matsyendra Natha, the founder of the Natha sect, lived in East Bengal. Nathas were the first writers of verse narratives and stories in Bengali. There are two sets of Natha tales. The first set relates the adventures of Minanath, who fell under the spell of a beautiful woman and forgot himself completely. His disciple, Gorakshanath, disguised as a dancing girl, rescues him. Gorakshanath uses verses like the following:

"What will the guru do with oil if the lamp goes out?
What is the use of building a dam when the water is gone?
A guru cannot revive a plant whose root is cut."

The second set of tales centres around Queen Maynamati. From her spiritual preceptor, Haripa Siddhai, the Queen learns that her son, Gopichand, will die young unless he takes vows of celibacy and lives the life of a monk for twelve years. The young prince agrees very reluctantly but in the end successfully passes through all the ordeals imposed upon him.

Bengal, like Tibet, Assam, Nepal and Orissa, followed the Mahayana school of Buddhism. Of the subsidiary offshoots of the Mahayana which developed in the eastern part of India, Bengal chose Sahajayana and called it Sahajiyā. Though the upper social strata gradually came under Brahmanical influence, Buddhism in one shape or another continued to be the faith of the common people, sometimes hopelessly mixed with other traditions or corrupted by the neglect of the scholars. The Buddhists took over Siva, who appears to have originally been an indigenous deity, and the tines of his trident came to symbolize the three jewels of Buddhism: the Sangha, the Dharma and the Buddha. Dharma also came to be worshipped as a Hindu deity of the same name. Sometimes this deity is identified with Siva, as in the Natha literature, and sometimes with the formless godhead of the Śunya Purāna. At times he is a full-fledged divinity with his own sect. The many Mangalas written around Dharma take justice and injustice as their theme. The Śunya Purāna is of a rather different type. It was written by Ramai Pundit of Midnapore, who is believed to have lived towards the end of the twelfth century. Dharma Puja is still in existence in many parts of Bengal, and its priests are untouchables of the Dom caste.

The Sena dynasty, which replaced the Palas, came from Karnatak in South India. The Sena kings were at first worshippers of Siva and later turned to Vishnu. Ballal Sen tightened the caste organisation of the upper classes. Yogis, Sahajiyas and Buddhist bhikshus were excluded. Even the giving of alms to them was forbidden. Buddhism never recovered from this blow. What remained was disrupted by the intrusion of Islamic influence, for the Senas were within a century displaced by the Turki kings.

Vishnu took the form of Krishna, the cowherd. Radha, the divine woman, the feminine principle of the universe, is always associated with him. Jayadeva, the court poet of a Sena king, celebrated their love in his Gīta Govinda, a book of passionate songs in Sanskrit which became the inspiration of the extensive literature that exists in Bengali on this subject. All songs in this genre are known as padāvalīs.

Chandidas was the greatest of the padāvalī writers. There are probably two poets of that name. The padāvalīs current for centuries in the name of Chandidas are so very different from an old manuscript called Śrī Krishna Kīrtan, which was discovered in 1918, that it is safe to assume that they are composed by a different hand. The language of the Śrī Krishna Kīrtan is coarse. Krishna is not the divine masculine principle nor Radha his feminine counterpart. They curse each other as roundly as vulgar rustics and conduct themselves in an unseemly manner. The padāvalīs, on the other hand, are as polished and glowing as beautiful stones worn smooth by the gently flowing waters of centuries of strong and noble love. Padāvalīs are written even today. Rabindranath Tagore wrote his The Padāvalīs of Bhanu Singh in the style of Vidyapati, a contemporary of Chandidas. The music accompanying the padāvalīs is known as kirtan. They are always sung. Chandidas was, according to legend, a Brahmin priest who worshipped the goddess Vasuli. His companion in his devotions was Rami, a washerwoman. Some of his songs are in the mystic tradition of the Sahajiya cult but it is to compositions on the theme of Radha and Krishna that he owes his immortality.

Vidyapati was born in Mithila, North Bihar, and became the court poet of Siva Singh, a local ruler. It is said that the queen, Lachhima, inspired him to compose songs on the Radha-Krishna theme despite the fact that his family were worshippers of Siva, and many poems of his composition dedicated to Siva exist. Vidyapati is an incomparable poet. His language was Maithili, not Bengali. Yet the skill of his diction, word-play and the beauty of his metres was so great that his many imitators created a special patois called brajabuli, which was a mixture of Maithili, Bengali, and Western Hindi. It was used exclusively in the composition of padāvalīs. By long association, his poems have become a part of the Bengali heritage.

Indigenous myths and legends inherited from Indo-Aryan cultures began to blend and crystallise around popular deities and semi-mythological figures in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A new cosmogony was evolved, which is different from the Sanskrit tradition but has an unmistakable affinity with the cosmogonic hymn in the Rigveda and the Polynesian myth of creation. These unformulated sets of tales, known as *pānchālī*, were slowly brought together and incorporated in long narrative poems written around different cults. They are fascinating compilations. They are called *Mangalas* (Books of Benediction), and each is dedicated to a single deity. There are *Dharma Mangalas*, *Chandi Mangalas*, *Manasā Mangalas*, *Annadā Mangalas*, and so forth.

The form of the *Mangala* is always the same. The deity commands the poet to write in a dream. The hero of every tale, by trusting to the divinity, surmounts fearful obstacles and triumphs over all the ordeals imposed on him. Obstinate unbelievers are ruined. A certain tediousness is unavoidable, but the *Mangalas* do contain poetry of a high order. Within the limitations of a set theological framework the poets were free. They described the manners and customs of the times and the countryside and created character types which are alive and valid today.

It is here we find the snake goddess, Manasa. Born of Siva's seed when it falls upon a lotus leaf, she is brought up in the Underworld. The snakes elect her queen. Siva sees her by chance, desires her as Zeus desired his daughter, and takes her home. Her fierce stepmother puts out one of her eyes. Siva abandons her in a forest while she is asleep, giving her a maidservant fashioned from the single tear he sheds. Manasa, associated with water, marshes and all dark damp places, has healing powers. She restores the dead to life, reviving Siva himself when he dies of drinking the poison that turned his throat blue. She brings wealth to her worshippers. Shepherds were her first worshippers. She appears to them in the form of an old woman who asks for milk. A Muslim is her second convert and a fisherman the third. The beautiful story of Behula and Lakhindar is found among the tales associated with her. Of the many Puranas (Mythologies) and *Mangalas* written for Manasa, those by Bijay Gupta of Barisal and Narayan Dev of Mymensingh, both of the 15th century, are the oldest. The most popular one was composed in the 17th century by Ketaka Das.

According to another account, Manasa is the sister-consort of Dharmaraj, the king of the Underworld, held in dread as Yama. Lausen, the hero favoured by Dharma, is an epic character and reminds one of an ancient sun hero. He is the seventh son of Karnasena, the Commander-in-Chief of King Dharmapala of Gaur. Six of his sons die in battle with Ichai Ghose, who has declared war upon the king. Lausen grows up to avenge his brothers, defeat Ichai and rid the kingdom of him. Many plots are laid to do away with Lausen and, like Hercules, he has to perform a series of miraculous labours. In one of these he has to overcome an iron rhinoceros. In the last one, the sun is made to rise in the west. To accomplish this, Lausen has to cut off his own head. The Dharma Mangala, written by Ghanaram of Burdwan in the second half of the 16th century, tells this story, perhaps the only medieval Bengali work extant in which there is a praiseworthy degree of manliness and heroism.

Chandi, the benevolent Mother Goddess, was the subject of a number of Mangalas composed in the 16th century. There are two sets of tales connected with Chandi. In the first, the goddess appears to a hunter and his wife in the form of a golden iguana. The resulting confusion reveals Kalketu and Phullora in all their simplicity and honesty. In the second, a wealthy merchant, Dhanapati, sails to Ceylon and is held captive there. His twelve-year-old son, Srimanta, born in his absence, undertakes the long and arduous journey to rescue him.

The best known of these is by Kavikankan Mukundaram Chakravarti. He was also born in Burdwan, from which place he migrated to Midnapore, where he became tutor to the son of a landed nobleman, Bankura Rai. Kavikankan portrays characters skilfully. The minor personages in these tales are even more memorable than the heroes and heroines, creating types that exist today. Kavikankan is a masterly narrator. His style is vivid and full of variety.

Stories of Siva are present in one form or another in all the Mangalas and several have been written for him alone. The Siva Sankīrtan by Rameswar Chakravarti of Midnapore is the most popular.

Siva is invariably portrayed as a destitute old beggar, a frequenter of cremation grounds, a half-mad drug addict. He wears a tiger skin and a bone necklace, rides a bull and consorts with ghosts and devils. Parvati, his patient wife, is always in trouble. The daughter of wealthy parents, a cherished child, she is accustomed to care and loving attention. Husband and wife quarrel continually. Parvati says:

> "May a tiger take the bull you ride on!
> May a thief steal your trident!
> May fire burn up your beggar's bag!
> Let the snake around your neck
> Be snatched by Vishnu's bird!"

Mohammedanism came to Bengal in 1200 A.D. when the Turki invaders, led by Mohammed Bakhtiyar Khalji, captured Nudia, the capital of the Sena kings. It took the Muslims about a hundred years to conquer the whole of Bengal. The interval between the beginning of the Turki invasion and the rise of the independent Pathan kings was the dark period of early Mohammedan rule, a blank in the literary history of the country. The great seats of learning at Nalanda, Vikramsila and elsewhere were destroyed. Scholars, Buddhist and Brahmanical, were scattered. Some fled to outlying territories which preserved something of their independence for a time. Others went to Nepal. Those who remained fell on evil days. But things slowly settled down.

In 1352-53, Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah founded a line of Sultans in Bengal who were independent of Delhi. From this time down to 1576, when the last of these Pathan kings was killed in battle with the Moghul armies and Bengal was annexed to the Moghul Empire, the breach between rulers and ruled was slowly closed by their use of a common language and patronage of a common literature. Muslim poets wrote in Bengali and often chose Hindu subjects. Muslim kings delighted in the performances of and readings from the Ramayana and Mahabharata which were held in their courts. The first Bengali translations of these great epics were made at the instance of a Muslim king.

LITERATURE OF THE OLD PERIOD

Husain Shah and his sons Nazrat and Giyasuddin are all mentioned in lyric poems composed by their court poets. The two earliest Bengali Mahabharatas were written under the patronage of satraps of Husain Shah. Paramesvar Das was the first. He was the court poet of Paragal Khan. The literary tradition started by Paragal Khan and his son reached the court of Arakan towards the end of the 16th century. Bengali was accepted as the chief official language at the Arakan court.

The first Bengali poet to write under the aegis of the Arakan court was Daulat Kazi in the early 17th century. His patron, Ashraf Khan, was a Sufi and so was Daulat himself. Ashraf asked Daulat to write the story of Lor, Chandrani and Mayana in Bengali, basing it on the Rajasthani poem by Sadhan. Lor, the ruler of Gohari, was happily married to Mayana. He sees a portrait of Chandrani and seeks the love of the princess. Her husband is a midget. Chandrani responds to Lor in her husband's absence. The husband returns, fights Lor and is killed. Mayana, deserted and lonely, resists suitors who come to seek her favour. She sends a trusted Brahmin in search of Lor. Lor remembers his forgotten wife when he sees the Brahmin and is overcome with remorse. He returns to her, taking Chandrani with him.

Daulat Kazi died before the poem was complete and Alaol (1659), the greatest of the Bengali poets of Arakan, finished it. Alaol, like Daulat Kazi, was a learned and skilful poet. He was deeply versed in Persian poetry, had an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit, and knew Hindi, Bengali, Prakrit and some Arabic. He composed songs and was a good musician. Alaol was the son of a Pathan chieftain of Faridpore. He is said to have been captured by Portuguese pirates and sold at Chittagong. His talent won favour and patronage for him at the court of Raja Sudharma where his famous *Padmāvatī* was written. It is an adaptation from the Hindi original of Malik Mohammed Jaisi. In this he introduced to Bengal the beautiful Hindu queen of Chitor, Padmini.

Muslim writers added three rich sources of literary material to the Bengali heritage: (1) legends and stories of Persian origin and Islamic fairy-tales and folk tales in general, (2) historical tales of Islam and Persia, and (3) Mohammedan religious beliefs and practices. These writers also, with their knowledge of Hindi, brought in the stories and legends of Western India. Local history was drawn upon, and in *Dewan Manawar Khan* we are told the sad story of the attractive Prince Shuja, youngest son of Shah Jehan, who sought refuge in the Arakan court and was treacherously murdered there. The Muslim writers were fond of romantic themes and took them from all the sources at their disposal. The influence of this romanticism is strongly in evidence in later Hindu writers like Bharat Chandra Ray, who was deeply read in Persian.

A popular Persian romance was the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, composed by Shah Mohammed Saghir. The Laila Majnun legend was written by Daulat Uzir Bahram Khan in the late 16th or early 17th century and was also very popular. Love affairs between princes and fairies were a favourite subject. There are many: *Hanifa and Kayra the Fairy*, *The Prince of Chamari and the Fairy Shamarokh*, *The Story of the Fairy Shah*. The last was written by Paragal. There is the romance of the Persian king Bahram Gor and Banu Husn. Bengali romances attracted their attention also. Sabirid Khan was one of several poets who wrote the story of Prince Sundar and Princess Vidya, which was later immortalised by Bharat Chandra.

A heterodox Sufism which may be called Fakirism, an amalgamation of Yoga with Islamic practices, prevailed before the reformation of Islam in Bengal by disciples and followers of Syed Ahmed of Bareilly, who was martyred at Balakot in 1831. This fusion is shown in the *Qiyāmatnāmā* (1714) of Shaikh Chand. He was a disciple of a fakir named Shah Daulat. We find it again in the *Tam Tilawat* (1794) by an unknown author. Alaol was an adept in Yoga and an initiate of the Qadirai order of Sufism. The cult of the legendary saint, Satya Pir, originated in this blending of creeds and became a bond between all communities. The earliest writer on Satya Pir was Faizullah (1547). He also wrote on the Natha saint, Gorakshanatha. Another Muslim writer on the Nathas was Shukar Mohammed of North Bengal, and another writer on Satya Pir was Bharat Chandra.

But the greatest monuments of the older period are the epics. Like the Brahmaputra and the Ganges, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata built and sustained the young province of Bengal with the ancient stories of Aryavarta. There was not a child but heard the stories from his grandmother or saw them acted by troupes of strolling players. Professional story-tellers called kathaks knew the art of holding their audiences spellbound for hours on end. By a system of oral transmission and visual representation, the spiritual experience of the race was made part of each man's inner equipment. The break-away of the Bengali language from the classic Sanskrit was not complete until Bengali translations of these great epics were made. These epics, and to a lesser extent the Bhagavat, have exerted a formative influence on Bengali social institutions and literature for the last four or five hundred years. The versions of Krittibas Ojha and Kashiram Das are read even today. Neither is a literal translation. Local material is incorporated and even the central characters have become as Bengali as the audience.

Chaitanya, who was born in 1485 at Nabadwip, was deeply influenced by Vidyapati and Chandidas. He attracted the displeasure of both the Muslim rulers and the orthodox sections of Hindu society by his efforts to abolish social differences between high and low and bring Hindus and Muslims together in a common Bengali tradition. He was a learned scholar himself and there were many scholars among his disciples. They took the original Sahajiya teachings, which had become corrupted through the neglect of scholars, cleansed them and gave them great spiritual beauty and nobility. One of his favourite disciples, Haridas, was a Muslim.

Three of Chaitanya's contemporaries wrote about his life, but for a full biography we have to turn to one of his successors, Krishnadas Das Kaviraj. His Chaitanya Charitamrita (1581) has no equal in the Bengali language. Many lines and verses have become proverbs.

Of the hundred or more Muslim composers of songs, not a few were inspired by the Vaishnava poets. To some, Radha and Krishna were symbols of the lover and his beloved, to others symbols of the body and soul. Almost imperceptibly Sufism met and mingled with these traditions and poured its deep and beautiful stream into Bengal.

The stories in the verse narratives known as the Gītika, which were discovered in the districts of Mymensingh and Chittagong, are ballad romances. Collectors assign them to the period between the 16th and 18th centuries. Witchcraft is still present. There are no deities, however, and no miracles occur. This makes them a part of the heritage that is common to Hindus and Muslims alike. Twenty-three of them are known to have been composed by Muslims. There are fifty-four in all and some of them are still current. Characters are drawn from both communities without any bias. Even more surprising is the absence of discrimination between high and low. In all preceding literature, stock metaphors and traditional figures of speech are used. The freshness and originality of the imagery in the Gītika casts some doubt on the authenticity of their age.

The best and most able of all writers in the pre-modern Bengali period was Bharat Chandra Ray. His skills in narration and his portrayal of character is unsurpassed. He was born in 1712 of an aristocratic family, which was ruined by incurring the displeasure of the ruler. After travelling through the length and breadth of India, visiting all the holy places, he at last settled in Nadia, where he became the court poet of Krishna Chandra. His great book, the Annadā Mangala, was written in 1752.

The Annadā Mangala is divided into three sections. In the first, the wanderings of the goddess Annadā in mortal guise are related. In the second, the love story of Prince Sundar of Kanchi and Princess Vidya of Burdwan is told with supreme artistry. Bharat Chandra's fame rests on his rendering of the Vidya-Sundar legend. Sanskrit metres are used in Bengali for the first time. The third part contains the story of Mansingh's expedition to Bengal, the war between Mansingh and Pratapaditya, and Mansingh's friendship with Bhabananda.

All these were sung. Other sets of songs also exist. There are the Ramprasadi, songs composed by Ramprasad, a devotee of the goddess Kali. Other devotees like Kamalakanta followed. They see Kali as a benign mother. *Shyāmā́ Sangīt*, as this variety is called, came into being three hundred years after the padāvalīs. Another genre sings of Gauri, the wife of Siva. Her mother, Menaka, laments the fate of her beloved and only child who has fallen into the hands of so unworthy a husband. Gauri begs him to allow her to visit her mother. These are the *Āgamanī* songs, sung a few days before the annual festival of Durga, announcing the coming of the goddess. Songs dedicated to Kali, Uma, Gauri, or Durga are known as *Śākta padāvalī*. Kali and Durga are two aspects of Sakti or Power from which the adjective Sakta is derived. Sakti is also a designation of the Mother Goddess.

There are also the songs of the Bauls. The Bauls are a sect of mystics living on the fringe of society. They have preserved a tradition which has been at the core of Bengali hearts since the time of the Charya verses. They worship no gods and goddesses. They speak of Man, and the man of their conception is indwelling spirit, an elusive Reality which they pursue with intense devotion.

With the British came a strong inrush of European influence, which inaugurated the modern period. Calcutta became the capital of British India, and wealth and talent of the country converged there. Bengali was the first Indian literature to feel the impact of Western culture. There was a period of uncertainty similar to the period of early Muslim rule. British supremacy was established at the battle of Plassey in the middle of the 18th century. It was the middle of the 19th before a creative response could be made to the challenge of the new civilisation. A generation of Bengalis had to be educated in British traditions and thought before the leavening process could begin.

15. POETRY

Verse was not new. Bengali literature was entirely written in verse until the modern period. Those who sought novelty in verse turned to the new language, English. They also sought new content and novelty of form. These experiments did not further Bengali poetry until Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824-1873), the first great poet of the new era, appeared.

Isvarchandra Gupta (1812-1859) bridged the gulf between the old poetry and the new. Sarcasm and wit were his strong points. The Bengali journal he edited encouraged the writing of poetry by the young. Old trite figures of speech, worn thin by centuries of use, were slowly discarded and a new poetic idiom evolved.

The life and personality of Michael Madhusudan Dutt aptly illustrate the diverse influences out of which modern Bengali poetry arose. The son of a wealthy Calcutta lawyer, he was taught Persian and Bengali as a child. Learning English later, he entered the Hindu College. At the age of nineteen, while still a student, he became a Christian. In Madras, where he worked for some years as an English teacher and journalist, he studied day and night, turning himself into one of the foremost scholars of his time. His first wife was an Englishwoman. After the failure of his first marriage, he came back to Bengal with his second wife, a Frenchwoman. He was an only son and his inheritance had been misappropriated on his father's death. He won it back through a long and tiresome lawsuit. Then he went to England where he was admitted to the bar. When he returned to India, he hoped to make the place for himself in the legal and social world of Calcutta which he considered his by right of birth and achievement. Frustration followed. The employment he was able to obtain did not come up to his expectations. He died at the age of forty-nine in great poverty, a defeated man.

But he bequeathed to his people a body of poetry that gave him a secure place among the immortals of his time and country. Like others of his time, his first creative efforts were in English. He also turned to history. His *The Captive Ladie* is the first poem by an Indian writer dealing with the Muslim conquest of India. In 1856 at the age of thirty-two he returned to Bengal and began to write in Bengali. The next six years were the happiest and most fruitful in his literary life. All his major work was done by the time he left for England in 1862. With the exception of the 102 sonnets he composed at Versailles in 1865, during his five-year sojourn abroad, he wrote little more of significance.

Michael Madhusudan took the rhyme and the pause at the end of the line out of the traditional 14-mora Bengali *payar* metre, creating Bengali blank verse. He placed the pause wherever he chose, to emphasize meaning. This innovation was used for the first time in his *Tilottamāsambhav* (The Birth of Perfect Beauty), 1860. *Meghanādvadh* (The Death of Meghanadh), 1861, the long epic poem by which he is best known, is written in this new metre. He employed it again for *Vīrānganā* (Brave Ladies), 1862. He was at the same time intrigued by the simple grace and elegance of the traditional *padāvalī* form. *Brajānganā*, composed on the eternal Radha-Krishna theme, was published in 1859. His subjects, in his Bengali work, were drawn from Puranic sources, but he handled them in a new way. Meghanād is a warrior of the enemy camp in the Ramayana. Michael Madhusudan makes him into a hero. His manner is more reminiscent of the Iliad than of the Indian epic.

A new subject, the poet's personal search for his ideal, appeared in the work of Biharilal Chakravarty (1834-94). His poem, *Sāradā Mangal*, 1879, shows in its title his love for old Bengali poetry but it was half-way to the modern lyricism of Tagore. He was an intensely subjective poet who wrote from inner necessity, a romantic in the heroic and dramatic style of Byron. Tagore was a romantic also, more akin to Shelley. Modern Bengali poetry was romantic in its beginnings and for a long time afterwards.

POETRY

The history of the Tagore family carries the amalgamation of diverse and often conflicting traditions a step farther. The Tagores were Pirali Brahmins, the epithet Pirali indicating that they had had connections with Muslims. Their heterodoxy enabled them to respond more effectively to the challenge of the times than others. The family fortune was founded by the poet's grandfather, Dwarkanath Tagore, a merchant who by trading with the British earned himself the sobriquet of prince. His son, Devendranath, became a leader of the Brahmo Samaj, a reformist sect founded by Ram Mohan Roy. The Brahmo Samaj repudiated idolatry. Its various branches took the lead in social and cultural progress, aiming at a synthesis between East and West. Devendranath was a man of profound spiritual vision. His home became a centre for the intelligentsia of 19th century Bengal.

For half a century the world of Bengali poetry was to be suffused and illuminated by the mild, glowing light of his son Rabindranath's poetry. Born in 1861, he began composing verse as a child and continued to do so until his death in 1941 at the age of eighty. In *Sandhyā Sangīt* (Vesper Songs), published when he was twenty-one, he finds his own voice, and at the age of twenty-nine, in *Mānashī* (The Desired), 1890, he appears in the full maturity of his genius.

The poems in *Sonār Tarī* (The Golden Boat), 1893, were written during the years he spent in the countryside looking after the family estates. He spent days and weeks on a houseboat, sailing and poling his way up and down the rivers of Bengal, the mightiest of which was his favourite Padma. The theme he takes up here is the common Indo-European theme of the search for the beautiful woman who symbolises both love and wisdom. In the last poem of the collection named *Chitrā*, 1896, the poet reaches the far shore and is welcomed by his mysterious guide. This quest is the subject of his *Urvaśī*. Urvaśī was a heavenly nymph who materialised in all her beauty only to vanish again, disappearing forever from the sight of men.

POETRY

The poems in Gitānjalī, for the English translation of which he was awarded the Nobel Prize, were written during the most harassed decade in the poet's life. He lost his wife and two of his children within seven years and was struggling to build up his school at Santiniketan. Public affairs claimed more and more of his time. Gitānjalī was published in 1910.

The universalism Tagore achieved transcended all conflict. Man was, for him, a part of nature and also a part of spirit. Humanism and mysticism fused. Thus a conflict which tore the soul of Europe in the Middle Ages and is still thought by some to be responsible for the course of destruction upon which man in his egocentricity appears to have embarked, was resolved in the gladness of a profound vision. Man became at once sensuously beautiful and radiantly spiritual.

Tagore's contemporaries and successors, caught up in the great flood of creative freedom he released, pursued their different talents, developing variously to an extent that has made Bengali the richest of all India's literatures. The culture of Europe now became an integral part of every educated Bengali's equipment. Of the dozen or more poets whose names find a place in all histories of the modern period, Satyendranath Datta (1882-1922) is the most outstanding. He had an amazing talent for the translation of poetry and handled both Indian and foreign metres with great skill and resourcefulness. Narrowness and injustice were anathema to his broad and deep humanism. His mind was wide-ranging and eclectic, drawing nourishment from all times and all countries.

In the twenties, Nazrul Islam (1899-) appeared with the suddenness and brilliance of a skyrocket and burnt himself out quickly in the unrestrained outpouring of his passionate and volatile emotion. He joined the Bengali Regiment in 1916 and was in Mesopotamia at the time of the armistice. Though his war experience was limited, it turned him into an irresistible rebel. Agnivīna (The Lute of Fire), the first of his twenty or more books, appeared in 1922.

POETRY

In the wake of Nazrul Islam came the younger poets of whom the closest to Tagore is Dr. Amiya Chakravarty (1901-). A mystic and a humanist, he is even more cosmopolitan than his great master. The geography of the human condition is his subject, a humanity that is concrete and tangible in every part of the world. Dr. Chakravarty is the most widely travelled of Bengali poets, and his appetite for seeing places and meeting people is insatiable.

Sudhindranath Dutta (1901-1960) was an agnostic. He rebelled against the traditional Indian aversion to the world, affirming the sufficiency of earthly life. He cultivated a stoic and sometimes bitter acceptance of reality, pain and disillusionment. He is an intensely introspective and intellectual writer. For twelve years he published and edited Parichaya, a literary quarterly which deeply influenced the writers of his day.

Sudhindranath died at the age of fifty-nine and Jivanananda Das (1898-1954) in his early fifties. Das was a humble teacher of a shy and retiring disposition. He wrote of the countryside, the lush landscape of his native Barisal. The world of nature is indistinguishable from the human, and lines of demarcation blur and shift, blending with the mood and emotion of the poet. Passion takes on an unearthly beauty. In The Great Question he says he has wanted to purify, by the addition of a few holy drops, the turgid and turbulent river of the blood.

Premendra Mitra (1904-) has adopted a mystic primitivism which romantically decries the civilisation of the machine and hymns the virile vitality of unspoilt nature. In his early work he seeks to stir the reader to strive for political and moral good. The patriotic theme is developed. Love is not his subject. He uses mythology to transmit insight.

Annada Sankar Ray (1904-) is deeply aware of the main currents of Indian tradition and of the contemporary Indian scene, although he writes, like Dr. Chakravarty and Sudhindranath, against an international background. He attacks topical questions with scathing wit. And he writes of love, a love that can be both intensive and extensive, cover all creation, and at the same time be centred in a beloved person.

POETRY

Buddhadeva Bose (1908-) creates his own world consciously and allows no outward problems to intrude on his privacy. History scarecely exists for him. His subject is love, and he treats it with a frankness and daring that created a furore when it first appeared. Impassioned and personal, he cultivates individuality and projects it beyond youth, old age, death, sickness and poverty. His articulation of the unconscious processes is deliberate and studied. His early work is secular, but he is turning more and more to God.

Bishnu De (1909-) uses mythology to dramatise a mood as well as to transmit insights. He deliberately and determinedly breaks the hypnotic hold of collective myth. The allusiveness and obliqueness of his writing reflect a mind that ranges widely and feeds deeply. His imagery is drawn from the universal human intellectual heritage, a heritage which colours even his observation of nature.

Asokbijay Raha (1910-) is an imagist. Nature is his subject, and the mountain country of Assam the source of his inspiration. A certain innocence of eye and directness of vision give his poems freshness. He delights in visual experience.

Subhas Mukhopadhyay (1919-) is a poet with a mission, a straightforward political writer. He writes with force and fluency, powerful irony and scorn.

In these writers we see the three chief types of poets now writing in Bengali. Those with a mission are a large and emphatic group. Some write according to formulae. Then there are the mystic and the humanistic. Tagore was the chief of the magi, by far the most impressive poet of modern times. Others, Sudhindranath Dutta and Bishnu De, are learnedly occult. And there are those who are content to concentrate on the exceedingly difficult art of giving simple, unpretentious statement to profound emotional and spiritual experience.

16. THE NOVEL

It was the Hindus of Bengal who first felt the impact of Western civilisation and culture, and it was they who accepted the challenge it brought, benefited from it, and took the initiative in creating the modern India we know today. The new learning which came to Bengal first and the rest of India later through English played a part similar to that played by Greek in advancing the New Learning in Italy, France and England three or four centuries earlier. English-educated Bengali intellectuals sought to telescope the developments of centuries into as many decades. India passed rapidly through a Renaissance and Reformation. The medieval forces inevitably rallied to fight for their self-preservation. They crept under the wing of a new force called Nationalism, which took the field against Imperialism. The closing years of the 19th century saw the launching of a Counter-Renaissance and Counter-Reformation movement. They spoke the language of revivalism and sought to usurp patriotism to reverse the trends inaugurated by the New Learning.

Muslims as a whole took little interest in learning English at first. The reasons were several. Muslims were the displaced rulers. The British were their successful rivals. It was not until after the Mutiny in 1857 that they gave up all hope of restoring the Nabab regime. Muslims nursed a sense of hurt pride. They tended to lament the present and glorify the past, an attitude that persisted so long that it was regarded as traditional up to the time of Farrukh Ahmad, the powerful contemporary writer. Muslim aristocracy was landed aristocracy and had little contact with the galvanic city and the new mercantile classes created by a rapidly growing commerce. Hindu revivalism was another shock. Excluded from the present by narrow pietism, they turned to the remote past in search of an ideal strong enough to counteract it. Biographies of the Holy Prophet were written and published. A lofty Islamic puritanism was cultivated.

THE NOVEL

As the national struggle grew grimmer, the national spirit rose to white heat and the fight took on the colouring of a crusade against the whole range of Western education and culture, particularly in its modern manifestations. It became intolerable that Britain or Europe should score on any point. The first World War and the Russian Revolution further discredited the West and with it the liberating forces of the Indian Renaissance and Reformation. To these Democracy and Liberalism had, in the meantime, been added. Great figures like Tagore found their position shaken. Shortly before his death, Tagore wrote his Crisis of Civilisation, in which he recorded his utter disillusionment with the West but reaffirmed his faith in Man. Yet Tagore was consistently on the side of liberalism and tolerance. He did not believe that India could rebuild on an ancient base a civilisation wholly distinct from that of the West. A hundred and fifty years of the New Learning stood between the abolition of suttee and the outbreak of communal rioting in 1946 and subsequently. This recrudescence of maniac frenzy was directly traceable to revivalism.

Independence brought partition to Bengal. Partition and its aftermath brought bitter disillusionment. Outwardly Bengali Hindus and Muslims are indistinguishable except in dress. They speak the same language, share the same literature, music, folk traditions, handicrafts, arts. And they share the need for the knowledge and enlightenment that contact with the West has made accessible. Though Hindus got a head start, Muslims have been striving vigorously to catch up. The Muslim has certain advantages. He is not shackled by any gods and goddesses, though his mind is still mythopoeic. The main preoccupation of prose writers in East Pakistan since 1947 has been the anxiety to assess themselves and their environment in the light of their post-independence experience.

When the novel was introduced to Bengal in the middle of the 19th century, the form itself was new, the prose in which it was written was new, the secular tone was new in a country hitherto wholly dominated by religion, and the society in which and for which it was written was new.

THE NOVEL

The introduction of the Bengali printing press in the latter part of the 18th century led to the development of prose. Secular writing followed on an acquaintance with English literature. The first great Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94), was one of the first two graduates of the Calcutta University. His knowledge of the world outside India was derived from books. He was an earnest moralist, a scholar, and the first to evolve a satisfactory prose style of narration, a style of high artifice. His early efforts, like the efforts of others of his time, were in English.

Hindu society was, in his day, still closed. Girls were married young. Unattached persons did not exist. There was no scope for romance. The relationship of the sexes was governed not by love or the natural loyalty that springs from love but by a caste and clan-based social system that was rapidly becoming anachronistic. The stream of romance that had gushed forth in England as early as 1798 reached Bengal in the early years of the 19th century. The supreme importance of sentimental interest was recognised and accepted. The new thought trends also questioned theological sovereignty in both literary and social matters. The historical novel therefore matured earlier in Bengal than the novel of domestic life and manners.

History had many advantages for early writers of the modern period. The historical imagination could range freely and with delight over India's long past. The Muslim period which lay immediately behind them was a treasure trove of incident and situation upon which they could now draw without any restraining inhibition. Romantic love had of course always existed in Bengali life. It had, in the past, a vicarious outlet in love stories associated with Radha and Krishna. But poetry about these deities could not satisfy the hunger for romance created by the humanitarianism that was being born. Historical fiction did. Bankim Chandra learned to handle historical themes from Sir Walter Scott. The historical romance had the added advantage of providing scope for the expression and encouragement of the young nationalism growing in the country. The subject of his famous *Ānanda Math* (The Abbey of Bliss), 1892, is the great famine and the Monks' Rebellion which occured in Bengal shortly after the British assumed authority. It is in this book that the famous anthem, Bande Mataram, is found. It carries a political message skilfully disguised as history.

Bankim Chandra dealt with the period between the 13th and 18th centuries. Romesh Chandra Dutta (1848-1909) dealt with the same period more systematically, introducing the Marathas into the picture. Hara Prasad Shastri (1853-1931) took the reader back to the Buddhist period by placing his *Bener Meye* (The Merchant's Daughter) in the 10th century. Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyay (1884-1930), well-known as the archaeologist who discovered Mohenjo-Daro, had a grasp of historical facts that was firm and authentic. His historical novels go back as far as the Hindu period of the 7th century and depict the decline and fall of the Gupta empire. In *Śaśānka*, 1914, and *Dharmapāl*, 1915, we are shown two great rulers, one a Hindu and the other a Buddhist, whose power and influence gave Bengal an important place in India.

Bankim Chandra Chatterji was also the first to write novels of domestic life and manners. With the reforming zeal of a parson he introduced a new character into Bengali literature, the widow. Nowhere in the long and rich literature of the old period does a widow find any place. The abolition of suttee drew attention to her presence in society. She was unattached. With her, for the first time, a personal as distinct from a social relationship became possible between a man and a woman. With copious preaching and too much declamation, Bankim Chandra depicts the evils that the marriage of widows may lead to in his *Bishabriksha* (The Poison Tree) and *Krishnakānter Will* (Krishnakanta's Will). His men and women fail to work out their own fates as members of the new society in the process of formation. They are caught in the toils of circumstance. The first widow, Kunda, commits suicide. The second is murdered. Bankim's uncompromising conscience frequently forces an artificial solution. Both Bankim Chandra and Romesh

Chandra belonged to the Bengal Renaissance, but their views on many subjects were diametrically opposed. Bankim Chandra did not go all the way with reformers like Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833) and Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91), but he did disapprove of polygamy and in Indirā makes it possible for an abducted wife to return to her husband and home.

In the early 19th century the upper classes still wore turbans and achkans, following the Islamic fashion in both dress and manners. Persian was still the language of polite conversation. An ability to speak it was the hallmark of culture. Mohammedan titles abounded. Women were strictly secluded. With the end of the Nabab regime this cultivated society found itself in a vacuum. Its manners and outlook became ludicrous. The new generation educated in English, which slowly supplanted it, was scarcely less ludicrous in its raw efforts to ape Western ways.

A witty, light-hearted, keen-edged genre of writing, which in a sense continued the old Persian Kissa tradition of fantasy and fairy tale, was created by the early story-tellers to cope with this situation. Ethics are veiled in dexterous satire. Ālāler Gharer Dulāl (The Spoilt Child), 1858, by Tekchand is still read with delight. Tekchand's real name was Pyari Chand Mitra (1814-83). He was of a progressive turn of mind and advocated education for women. His book was written to teach newly literate mothers how not to bring up their children. It turned out to be a masterpiece of humour, rich in characterisation and situation. As he drew attention to all the undesirable things he thought could be avoided or corrected by a proper upbringing, we find here a vivid picture of the social life of the times. This tradition was continued in the work of Troilokyanath Mukherji (1847-1919), in whose Kankāvatī the extravagant Kissa manner fuses with a fairy tale-cum-nursery rhyme simplicity which is deceptive, for the fantasy, in the form of a dream, is almost nightmarish, although highly entertaining. It belongs to a genre which is still very much alive.

The propagandist instinct was strong in Bankim Chandra and his contemporaries. For the quiet novel of ordinary domestic life with satisfying attention to detail we must turn to Swarnalatā (The Golden Creeper), written in 1871-72 by Tarakanath Ganguly (1845-91). He bridged the gap between Bankim Chandra and Tagore and took a turn which enabled him to shake off the current overloaded, heavy, pseudo-Bankim style.

The second great novelist was Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). He had a first-hand knowledge of the world outside India. Like Bankim, whom he met as a child, he started with historical themes. Early 17th century Bengal is the scene of Bauthākuranir Hāt, 1883, and Rājarsi, 1885. The story of Rājarsi is taken from Tripura and has a firm basis in historical fact.

Tagore's real interests were romantic and social. These predominate in his thirteen novels. He quickly realised that he should begin where Bankim Chandra left off. Unlike the older writer, he was in full agreement with the progressive forces of the Reformation. Although his novel Chokher Bāli (Eyesore), 1903, bears a superficial resemblance to Bishabriksha (The Poison Tree), there is a fundamental difference in approach. The moral sentiment is less pronounced, although, of course, social considerations inevitably triumph. Binodini, the widow, goes to Benares, where she promises to engage in good works. Tagore gives the long drawn out love analysis sympathetic treatment. There is less preaching and no declamation.

Mistaken identity is a device Tagore used on two occasions in order to create a situation in which love between two individuals would be possible. In Noukadubi (The Wreck), 1915, a boat with two wedding parties on board sinks in a storm. Kamala, one of the brides and Romesh, one of the grooms, are cast up on the riverbank together. Neither had seen the other before, as the wedding was an old-fashioned one, and believe themselves to be the right pair. When they have fallen well in love Kamala's real husband appears. Traditional matrimonial attitudes triumph and Kamala goes to the latter

In Tagore's famous patriotic novel, Gora, 1910, the hero is a foundling of Irish parentage, orphaned during the Mutiny. He is brought up, in ignorance of his true identity, as the son of an elderly Hindu and his second wife, Anandamayee. Gora is an ardent Hindu nationalist and opposes any loosening of the social structure under Western influence. At last his foster father, afraid his funeral rites may be performed by unhallowed hands, discloses his secret. Gora finds the strength to overcome the shock and reorient himself to a new and different way of thinking and living in the love of Anandamayee, who excommunicates herself for his sake. Sucharita, the girl whose love he had rejected for reasons of caste, stands by him and becomes his wife. In these two women the enlightened heart triumphs.

Gora, Tagore's answer to the emotionalism of Bankim's Ānanda Math, is a social novel, not a historical one. As such it marks a distinct advance. In Sucharita, a Brahmo girl is introduced for the first time. Her romance with Gora is the first modern love story in Bengali literature.

Tagore's next major work, Ghare Bāire (Home and the World), 1916, is introspective and psychological, the theme being the love of a married woman for two men, her husband and a political worker who symbolises the call of the world of conflict and activity that was slowly opening its doors to women. The end is inconclusive.

Feminine activity was stimulated in all fields, including literature, by the reform movements in which the Brahmo Samaj took the lead. The age of marriage for girls was raised. They went to school and college. Later they went to jail as fighters for the freedom of their country. The attitude toward women slowly changed. The new society, a society confined to the well-to-do Hindu urban middle class of Calcutta, was highly self-conscious, anxious to be told about itself, willing to learn, full of eager intellectual curiosity, and hungry for a new and more satisfying way of life. It must not be forgotten that it was ultimately the 18th century Enlightenment that fertilised the Bengali mind.

Swarnakumari Devi (1855-1932), Tagore's sister, was the first lady novelist. The domestic novel of Taraknath Ganguly was taken up by the ladies in the refined Jane Austen manner. The rebels among them are few. Anurupa Devi (1882-), Kusum Kumari Devi, and Nirupama Devi (1887-1951) are among the traditionalists. Sailabala Devi (1894-) can claim to have drawn attention to the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations in her Shekh Āndu, 1917, and Misti Sarbat, 1920.

Writers with a college education, such as Shanta Devi (1898-) and Sita Devi (1895-), daughters of Ramananda Chatterji, the famous editor of the Modern Review, introduced a new note. Prabhavati Devi Saraswati (1905-) was the next outstanding novelist. She was exceedingly prolific. Prativa Bose, the wife of Buddhadev Bose, Bani Ray and Lila Majumdar are the three most outstanding among contemporary lady novelists. Radharani Devi is primarily a poet and Ashapurna Devi is dedicated to the short story.

Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1913, the first Asian writer to be so honoured. All Bengali writers felt proud. From that time on they have consciously striven to achieve and maintain cosmopolitan standards of excellence. Calcutta had become the fourth largest city in the world and the writers whose activities centred around it took pains to keep themselves abreast of contemporary literary developments elsewhere. World War I strengthened India's emotional ties with the West.

At this stage the next great master of the novel appeared. The period of Tagore as a novelist lasts roughly from 1901 to 1916. Several of his later novels were written after that date but no major new development took place either in his style or subject matter. He had taken the novel a long way down the road to realism and Bankim's idealism had been left far behind. But Tagore's world turned out to be an enchanted world after all. Whenever he writes about human life he seems, like Goldsmith, to pay it a compliment. His light handling works magic with his subjects. His work and attitude is pervaded with a gentle, tender humanism.

Victorian religious and domestic influences, as strong in Bengal as in England, enjoined reticence in the treatment of anything that violated current standards of good taste, good sense and good-natured morality. Sarat Chandra Chatterji (1876-1938), the first great realist, rose in stark revolt against this flaccid geniality and turned to the glorification of the outcast and underdog. He had spent a large part of his early life outside Bengal, first in Bihar and later in Burma, and was free from the mental and moral reservations that troubled both Bankin Chandra and Tagore. Bankim Chandra's women have strength of character, personality, courage. Tagore's women have charm, intelligence, dignity. Sarat Chandra introduces the scorned, oppressed and fallen, holding a passionate brief for them. He points up their good qualities, underlines their humanity, and reveals the strength of spirit which enables them to survive indignity and humiliation. In Srīkānta, 1917-33, the object of the hero's affections is his childhood sweetheart, Rajlakshmi. She is married to a man much older than herself, widowed while still a child, and grows up to be a baiji, the Indian equivalent of a hetaera, who is able, apparently, to keep her means of livelihood entirely separate from her personal life. The other most impressive woman is Annadā, who leaves home and becomes a snake-charmer like her Muslim husband. Both women acquiesce in the punishment inflicted upon them by society out of pity for society. This compassionate submission lends a strange glow to their characters, a clear and noble purity.

The age of Sarat Chandra lasted roughly over the late teens and the twenties. Pallī Samāj (Village Society), in which the village community, riddled with superstition and ignorance, triumphs over the enlightened and emancipated individual, was written in 1916. In Bāmuner Meye (The Brahmin Girl), 1920, he shows the harm done by blind observance of custom. In Charitrahīn, 1917, the wife's sweetheart takes her away by force, fails to win her consent, and restores her to her husband.

Sarat Chandra is primarily a story-teller. His books describe the sorrows and joys of men and women. They do not provide any solution for their grievances. He wrote about rural Bengal in the tradition created by Tagore in his early short stories. In his work the social problem is seen in the light of individualism. He had a romantic strain which made his books immensely popular.

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Politics was introduced into the novel as a theme in the second decade of the 20th century. Politics defeats love in Tagore's *Chār Adhyāy* (Four Chapters), 1914. In *Pather Dābī*, 1926, (The Demands of the Way) Sarat Chandra creates the character of the legendary, elusive and fugitive political worker. Sabyasachi is never shown except in disguise. This courageous and reckless figure dominated the political imagination of the Bengalis for several decades and is said to have inspired Surjya Sen, the famous terrorist who staged the abortive Armoury Raid at Chittagong in 1932.

Ideology joined hands with politics towards the end of the twenties. The Kallol group of writers, in their pursuit of ever harsher realism, introduced the proletarian novel, the class novel, the sociological novel, the regional novel, the novel of a period. Ideology invaded the quiet pastoral countryside so beautifully portrayed in the early twenties by Bibhuti Bhusan Bandyopadhyay (1899-1950) in his *Pather Pānchāli*, 1929, and *Āranyaka*, 1938. The anti-fascism of the thirties encouraged the leftward swing. This was confirmed by the alliance with Russia during the Second World War.

The cosmopolitan trend was developed in the twenties by Manindralal Bose (1897-). The West, with the exotic material splendour of the modern age, has been as romantic to Bengalis as the East was to their rulers. A young man just back from abroad and a cultivated, beautiful girl who plays the piano, paints and talks intelligently about English literature, are the hero and heroine of *Ramalā*, 1923, his best-known novel. The cosmopolitan novel quickly reached a climax with Annada Sankar Ray (1904-), who came into prominence in the late twenties and took the whole of the thirties to write the six volumes which constitute *Satyāsatya* (The Truthseekers), 1932-42. It is the story of a young Bengali intellectual's search for certitude. The intellect alone is incapable of giving it to him. "Why should I live if I cannot help others to live?" asks Badol on his deathbed.

Regionalism joined with realism to produce some of the best fiction of the thirties. Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay (1898-) is a powerful novelist in this genre. The land is the central character in Dhātrī Devatā, 1939, the people in Gana Devatā, 1942, the village in Pancha Grām, 1943. He holds environment and people in restrained perspective, recording more than he comments. The individual does not dominate. In Kālindi, 1940, an alluvial island rises in the river and becomes a bone of contention in the village on the riverbank. Peasants and landowners quarrel among themselves and with each other over the possession of its fertile lands. They also quarrel with the industrialist who sets up a sugar mill there.

Primarily a poet, Buddhadeva Bose (1906-) writes novels that seek to reveal the shadowy off-stage life we carry about with us unknown to others. The time of Tithi Dor (Moonbound), 1949, perhaps the most ambitious of his novels, is in the thirties. Swati, the youngest of Rajendra Mitra's five lovely daughters, grows up in the comparatively prosperous and quiet period before World War II. The life of the middle class was still comfortable. A discordant note is struck by the fourth son-in-law, an anti-fascist, but as the danger draws near his gloomy prognostications fit into the picture. The funeral of Tagore is described towards the end. It marks the end of an era. The book closes as the bombs begin to drop on Calcutta.

A bitter and disillusioned realism marks the work of Premendra Mitra (1904-) and Achintya Kumar Sen Gupta (1903-). The release of shock is Achintya Kumar's specific subject. In one famous story, the central character is an acrobat who earns an inadequate living by spinning a bamboo pole on the pit of his stomach with his son spread-eagled on the top. Weakened by starvation, the acrobat fumbles and the boy falls. The story closes as he walks away from the dying child and his younger son wails in terror at the thought of having to take his brother's place.

Premendra Mitra shares this concern for the neglected and oppressed. For him the dream is better than the reality. In one of his stories, a young widow in unhappy circumstances yields to the advances of a friend of the family. She elopes with him. As they drive away she discovers a toy in his pocket and learns that he is married and a father. Her dead body, unidentified, is found hanging from the swings in a children's park the following morning.

"Love," says Heramba, the central character of Manik Bandyopadhyay's novel Dibārātrir Kābya (Day and Night Poem), "does not thrive on experience, nor can psycho-analysts keep it alive." The fortitude with which he embraces the mixture of light and dark within and without him is not recognised as heroism by the girl he loves. He faces defeat and accepts disaster. Manik Bandyopadhyay (1908-) is fascinated by evil and haunted by a strange perversity. Kuber, the hero of his famous Padmā Nadir Mājhi (Boatman of the Ganges), 1936, is a simple, straightforward boatman tricked into joining a smuggler's settlement on a tidal island.

Muslim writers in the modern period have exhibited equally diverse trends. On a whole they have accepted the main traits, trends and classics of Bengali literature, and have endeavored to augment it in directions more specially needed by Muslims. Within the compass of conscious cultivation, there have been efforts both for a closer relationship with Arabic and Persian, and for a universal humanism based on the everyday life of the folk. The finest example of the former is Bishād Sindhu, written in the 19th century by Mir Musharraf Hussain.

Out of the depression which followed the First World War rose the defiant voice of Nazrul Islam (1899-). He was a soldier and came back from the war with his imagination fired by the Turkish and the Russian revolutions. He was primarily a poet. Ansar, the hero of his novel Mrityu Kshudhā (Death Hunger), says he will "forsake everything in the service of mankind, endure every sorrow patiently, not because men are suffering and sorrow-laden, but because they are beautiful."

Farrukh Ahmad and the group of writers associated with him have continued the Nazrul Islam tradition. They consciously applied themselves to the enrichment of the Bengali Muslim heritage.

Form and structure were taken from Urdu and Persian literature. Farrukh Ahmad has made successful use of the Sinbad legend.

Also in the Nazrul Islam tradition but even further in spirit from the revivalists, is the group which emphasises the human tradition that cuts across all communalism. Mazammel Huq and Mir Musharraf Hussain prepared the way for them in the early years of the 20th century. Such novelists as Abul Fazl, Syed Waliullah, or Abul Kalam Shamsuddin are free from any sectarian or separatist tendencies. They do not hesitate to draw upon Bengali literature as and when the emotional or intellectual need for it is felt. That they are primarily concerned with the life of Bengali Muslims is right and natural, for that is the life they know the best, their own life, which they and they alone are qualified to depict in literature.

Abul Kalam Shamsuddin began as a Marxist but has grown into a true humanist. His Kāsh Baner Kanyā, 1945, is an enchanting pastoral novel of the East Bengal countryside. The social problems which agitate the Bengali Muslims are very different from those which cause pain and suffering to the Hindu heart, but the emotional problems are the same.

Abul Fazl's Sāhasika (A Woman of Courage), 1946, analyses superstitions and shows how they twist and distort human nature. Syed Waliullah does the same in his Lāl Sālu (Red Bunting), a fine study of an ignorant and domineering Muslim theologian. Mahbubul Alam writes of the ordinary sorrows of a Bengali Muslim in his Mominer Jabanbandi (Confessions of a Believer), 1946, without any ideological bias.

17. SCIENCE AND CRITICISM

As might be expected, books on science and technology in Bengali are generally of an introductory nature. The medical sciences and agriculture received special attention first. As early as 1878, Amritlal Bhattacharya wrote a textbook in Bengali for the students of the Campbell Medical School on the treatment of fever. During the last three decades of the 19th century the scope of discussion widened rapidly. Nutrition, midwifery and nursing were studied. Patriotism invaded even this field and endless controversy complicated the study of medicine. Allopathy, Homeopathy, Kaviraji, Hakimi, Ayurvedic methods of treatment and home remedies all had and still have passionate advocates. Diet is a hotly debated subject, and systems prescribed by the different schools of thought are wholly incompatible. Superstitious practices further complicate the picture. Scientific method is, however, slowly and relentlessly asserting itself. The textbooks used in the schools to give instruction in general health are now fairly adequate.

Agriculture became a topic of discussion about the middle of the 19th century. Western methods of cultivation gradually became known and grew in popularity. Magazines have appeared regularly, although progress in this science has been slower.

Pure science is taught through the medium of Bengali up to the Higher Secondary School standard. The Visva-Bharati University Publications Division publishes two series in popular science. There is also the journal of popular science, Jnān Vijnān, produced by a group of scientists connected with the Calcutta University. A Bengali terminology has been constructed for Chemistry, Physics, Biology and even Mathematics. It is undoubtedly cumbersome and at times awkward, but continual use is smoothing it down, making it more pliant and intelligible.

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Models of simple and precise scientific exposition are the series of books written for children by Jagadananda Ray of Shantiniketan. His subjects include light, heat, sound, stars and constellations, birds, insects and other aspects of the natural world. A general introduction to pure science, Visva Parichaya, was written by Rabindranath Tagore himself, who had an absorbing interest in nature.

Mechanics and engineering have been the slowest to develop. Bengal has not taken to them readily. A basic contradiction exists between these sciences and the social pattern of existence. Perhaps it was for this reason that early scientists in Bengal sought to keep science out of daily life. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (1864-1919), who was a master of prose as well a great lover of science, wrote: "The stream of joyousness that flows to us from its source in science will be muddied if it is dirtied by contact with the joys and sorrows of daily life..." To these early scientists the new knowledge brought access to a realm they regarded as sacred and holy in the wonder and mystery of the universe it revealed. Jagadish Chandra Basu worked with plants and became famous throughout the world for the delicacy of the instruments he devised to measure their movements. He was also a good writer.

In philosophy and religion, the most classical literature has been more closely tied to poetry and fiction than to science. And here Sanskrit scholasticism and the erotic theology of the Vaishnava cult have been the earliest and the formative influences. The assumption, not very well formulated, which lay behind the literature of the Middle Ages in Bengal was that rasa is the life of poetry. Whatever the source of the idea, it is comparable to Shakespeare's "ripeness is all." The term rasa is a highly technical philosophical term for which there is no exact English equivalent. The importance of the presence of rasa in all artistic creation is as unquestioned today as it was then, and any critical study of Bengali literature must include an examination of the many meanings of rasa. In it is to be found all that is not dry theory or mere drill.

By the middle of the 19th century a basic change had taken place in accepted attitudes toward tradition, social institutions, life, subject-matter, and technique as a result of the stimulating current of new thought that had begun to flow in from England and the Continent. Bengali prose developed most remarkably during the last fifty years of this century. Journals and newspapers appeared. Science as well as literature became a subject of discussion. An influential literary circle grew up around Isvar Chandra Gupta (1812-59), Monomohan Basu (1831-1912), Akshay Kamar Baral (1865-1918) and Rangalal Bandyopadhyay (1829-86).

Literary forms, methods of composition, theory and related topics became the subjects of heated controversy. Inconsistencies in the work and thought of the classical and medieval writers were detected and discussed. English literature was a fertile subject. Even obscenity in literature was thought and written about. Rangalal Bandyopadhyay's Bānglā Kavitār Bishayak (Concerning Bengali Poetry) was published in 1854. A year earlier, Isvarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-91) had published his Sanskrita Bhāshā o Sanskrita Sāhityabishayak Prastāb (Proposals Concerning Sanskrit Literature and Language). Rangalal argued in favor of the old Bengali traditions. Rajendralal Mitra (d. 1891), employed Western methods of criticism for the first time. A history of Bengali literature was slowly constructed.

But before Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94), no very clear concept or theory of literature developed. Some questions had been raised and the tentative beginnings of two contradictory trends outlined. That was all. Bankim Chandra took upon himself the dual burden of creation and criticism. He was the first Bengali of the modern period to give criticism the status and respect it commands today. For thirty years Bankim Chandra exercised a formative influence on Bengali literature. Between 1872 and 1878 he wrote eight essays which have become modern classics. A stern moralist in his general attitude to life and the chief advocate of the new, nationalistic Hinduism that was developing, he did not import his didacticism into creative literature. On the contrary he declared that the object of poetry is not ethical instruction, but to attract man's heart and mind so that they are stirred into a beneficial activity that enhances their awareness and effects their purification.

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Almost all of Bankim Chandra's immediate associates and successors looked at literature through the closed shutters of a narrow nationalism. Their criticism is not free, as his is, from the taint of chauvinistic Hinduism. The best of them were profound Sanskrit scholars, yet Sanskrit rhetoric did not influence them unduly. In Romesh Chandra Dutta's *The Literature of Bengal*, 1877, Western methods of criticism are successfully and skillfully utilised.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) began writing criticism at the age of fifteen. By the first decade of the 20th century he was a mature critic and his influence the dominant one. In 1907 he published *Prāchīn Sāhitya* (Classical Literature), *Sāhitya* (Literature), and *Ādhunik Sāhitya* (Modern Literature), his three chief volumes of criticism. *Sāhityer Pathe* (The Way of Literature) followed in 1936, *Sāhityer Svarūp* (The True Shape of Literature) in 1943. Tagore was, essentially, an interpreter of the *rasa* doctrine.

The universalism Tagore achieved transcended all conflicts. Man was, for him, a part of nature and also a part of spirit. In the teaching of the Bauls, in the doctrines of the Sufis and in the Upanishads he found the concept of a universal man who dwells within the heart of each, a man who is, at one and the same time, sensuously beautiful and radiantly spiritual, a man whose humanism is in fact that tie itself, thereby uniting the natural and the spiritual. This confers freedom of creative development. In Rabindranath, humanism and mysticism fused. The conflict between the modern mind and traditional transcendentalism, apparently so irreconcilable, was resolved in his person. A theological and social synthesis had already been achieved by Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833) and by his father, Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905).

Complaints against Tagore alleged that he was not sufficiently Hindu, that he was not sufficiently realistic and that his doctrines encouraged immorality.

His opponents disliked equally the quarterly, Sabuj Patra (Green Leaf), edited by Pramatha Chaudhuri (1868-1946), which appeared in 1914. Pramatha Chaudhuri, despite deep ties of affection, respect, and kinship with Tagore, preserved his own opinions and distinctiveness. "If the majority of people hold the same opinions about most things," he writes, "literary gatherings may be held but no literature can be created." For Pramatha Chaudhuri, literature is the achievement of individuality.

Another storm of criticism arose in the twenties. Sarat Chandra Chatterji (1876-1938) and Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta (1882-) emphasized realism. To them, the variety of human life was more important than the moral or abstract and eternal values called beauty and goodness. They created the spirit which animated the group of young writers which sprang into prominence in the late twenties and thirties. They began to explore all the untouched levels of Bengali life, in the city, in the slums, in the factories, in neglected corners of villages. They were deeply influenced by Knut Hamsun, Zola, Lawrence and other European realists. Their realism was however no less romantic than the Tagorean romanticism they rejected. Against his affirmative attitude they protested in various ways, doubting, fretting, denying, decrying.

During the thirties these desultory trends were gathered into a comprehensive attitude which Sudhindranath Dutta (1901-1960) describes and defines in the first issue of the quarterly, Parichaya, which became a powerful and formative influence under his editorship. He says: "The task of the poet is to integrate the disordered and fragmentary experience of everyday into a supreme realization...the task of the poet is to integrate the fragmented lives of all around him and place them in the flowing stream of life; the task of the poet is to absorb the particular consciousness of his time into the eternal and essential consciousness. Success in this great undertaking is not achieved through the cultivation of an ascetic aversion to the world."

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A Controlled Historical Reconstruction of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi by Debi Prasanna Pattanayak (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1961) is an essential improvement to the next title.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Origin and Development of the Bengali Language in two volumes by Suniti Kamar Chatterji (Calcutta, 1926) is a classic, indispensable for any historical study of the language.

Linguistic Survey of India, Volume 5, Part 1 edited by George A. Grierson is antiquated but still indispensable for any study of the dialects. Available in microfiche from the International Documentation Centre, Hågelby House, Tumba, Sweden.

For study of the literature, the following selections are recommended:

History of Bengali Literature by Sukumar Sen (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi).

A History of Bengali Literature by J.C. Ghosh (Oxford University Press).

Bengali Literature by Annada Sankar and Lila Ray (Indian P.E.N., Bombay).

An Acre of Green Grass by Buddhadev Bose (Orient Longmans, Calcutta).

A Challenging Decade: Bengali Literature in the Forties by Lila Ray (D.M. Library, Calcutta).

Rabindra Nath Tagore by Edward J. Thompson (Oxford University Press).

Tagore by Krishna Kripalani (Malancha, New Delhi).

For translations from the literature:

The Thief of Love: Tales of Court and Village translated and edited by Edward C. Dimock, Jr. (University of Chicago Press).

Broken Bread: Short Stories from Modern Bengal translated and edited by Lila Ray (M.C. Sarker & Sons, Calcutta).

Green and Gold: Stories and Poems from Bengal edited by Humayun Kabir (New Directions).

Krishnakanta's Will by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee; translated by J.C. Ghosh (New Directions).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Vigil by Satinath Bhaduri; translated by Lila Ray (UNESCO and Asia Publishing House).

Most translations of Rabindranath Tagore's very much admired works are of poor quality, and should not be taken as a basis for judgment. The following anthology contains examples: *A Tagore Reader* edited by Amiya Kumar Chakravarty (Macmillan).

A good way of beginning an acquaintance with the culture and the society is in the novels written originally in English by Sudhin N. Ghose and in the films directed by Satyajit Ray.